A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

SUCCESSION

OF THE

Crown of England.

And more particularly,

From the Time of King EGBERT, till King HENRY the Eighth.

COLLECTED

Generally from thoſe Hiſtorians who wrote of their own Times, and who conſequently were the beſt Witneſſes and Relaters of the Actions done therein.

Βίβλος ζάντων ἡ ἱστορία Nicetas Choniates.

Quo autem quiſque tempore antiquior & rei geſtæ loco propior, majorem & potiorem fidem meretur. Guil. Camdenus Juſto Lipſio.

LICENS'D,

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A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

SUCCESSION

OF THE

THE PREFACE.

AS the Succeſſion of our Kings to the Crown of this Nation is a buſineſs of great importance to every individual perſon therein; and as it hath of late been the Subject of the general diſcourſe after ſo great a Revolution; ſo, I hope, it will not ſeem ſtrange, that, among others, it ſhould excite a curioſity in me to know how it hath been managed (at leaſt) ſince the *Saxon* Heptarchy, or Sevenfold Kingdom, was joined into one: For, as the Liberties and Properties (and often the Lives) of every Subject are in ſome ſort concerned therein, and their Happineſs and Miſery in this World interwoven therewith: ſo the moſt thinking part of them are ſomewhat ſollicitous to know from what original the felicity which attends a Nation by the Government of a good and gracious Prince, is derived to them, and to underſtand from what Fountain it flows. Purſuant of this deſign, I have at leiſure conſulted all the *Latin Hiſtorians* of our Nation, both ancient and modern, that I could procure, and have laid this down as a Maxim, That the Hiſtorian who treated either of his own Time, or that which immediately preceded, however byaſſed he might be to this or that Faction (which notwithſtanding may be diſcerned with almoſt half an Eye, by ſome particular circumſtances) as he had the beſt opportunity to know the Truth in the change of Princes, ſo ought he to have the preeminence in point of Belief. Wherefore I have in the enſuing Diſquiſition rather adhered to this Narrative of the Matter (unleſs the contrary Reaſon was ſo clear, as not to be deny'd) than to perſons who ſucceeded him in time, and who are as obnoxious to the ſame Prejudices of eſpouſing the Intereſt of and con-

ſequently of favouring it in) particular Parties, as thoſe who went before them; as they are on the other ſide more liable to miſtake for want of due Information. Albeit I have ſeldom failed, where there are ſeveral contemporary Hiſtorians, to give their ſeveral Votes upon the matter in debate, that thereby (if alwaies poſſible) the Truth, as in a Glaſs, may be diſcerned from the Artifices of Falſhood. And this is the reaſon why I may in this *Hiſtory of the Succeſſion* perhaps differ from others who have treated on this Subject before, becauſe upon the certain knowledge of an Hiſtorian's Age, I have made him the Arbiter as to Matters of Fact done in or near his own time; while others may have conſulted only thoſe Hiſtorians (how diſtant ſoever from the time they ſpeak of) which do ſide with their own Hypotheſis, of what extreme ſoever; which I avoid to mention particularly, thereby to decline all invidious Comparisons with my Contemporaries, and conſequently of coming within the Verge of Controverſie, ſince 'tis *Truth*, not *Victory*, which I ſeek for.

I foreſee I ſhall meet with an Objection, which will confront me in the very entrance of this Work, *viz.* That ſince the Reign of King *Egbert*, till that of *William* the Conqueror, we have no Hiſtorians[a] left us worthy of attention, but *Aſſer Menevenſis*, who treats of the Life of King *Alfred*, and (to whom the laſt Will and Teſtament of that famous King is often adjoined) and *Ethelward*, who lived in the time of King *Edgar*, and that therefore I cannot altogether make good this Hypotheſis. To this I reply, That in a caſe of neceſſity there is no recourſe left, but to that of Obedience. Nor can I be any more cenſured for uſing ſome Authors, who write of actions done long before their time, when no other can be produced, than a man ought to be blamed for not walking ſtreight, when he is either decrepit or lame.

[a] *Hereof the* William *of* Malmesbury *look upon himſelf as the moſt ancient of our* Latin Hiſtorians *after* Bede, Elward *only excepted.* W. Malmesb. in Proleg. lib. 1. de geſtis regum Anglorum, pag. 7. ——— poſt eum (ſc. Bedam) non facilè, ut arbitror, reperies, qui hiſtoriis illius gentis (*i. e.* Anglorum) Latinâ oratione texendis animum dederint. Nam de Elwardo, &c. Id. ibid. p. 173. ——— privatim ipſe mihi ſub ope Chriſti gratulor, quod continuum Anglorum hiſtoriam ordinaverim poſt Bedam vel ſolus vel primus.

If

If it be further objected, That the Stile is unpoliſh'd, and not uniform, it may be anſwered, That among ſo many Quotations from Authors of different Ages and Stiles, it was impoſſible to do otherwiſe, unleſs I would have written a *Romance*, and not an *Hiſtory*. But before I diſmiſs the Reader to the Book it ſelf, I am obliged to take notice of another Objection which may be raiſed againſt me, *viz.* That I have been too converſant in Hiſtory, for one that ſhould make Philology my ſole Study.

If this Cenſure were ſo valid as to merit a Reply, I might with others of the ſame Profeſſion plead the liberty that all men have of ſearching into the Myſteries of other Arts, as well as thoſe which they publickly practiſe. So that to confine any man to a particular Study, without having the liberty to divert or inſtruct himſelf in others, is no leſs than an Invaſion of the great Charter of Nature, and an infringing of thoſe Priviledges, which are more unalterable than the old Laws of the *Median* and *Perſian* Empire; and in this particular caſe would (according to the trite Proverb) place the *Grammarian* in the next rank to a Fool.

Not to dwell too long upon ſo trifling an Objection, Hiſtory in a *Grammarian* was ſo far from being decry'd of old, that the Prince of [b] Latin Orators, *Cicero*, makes it one of the four Qualifications neceſſary for a compleat *Grammarian*, as [c] *Quintilian* makes it the Foundation of a Rhetorician.

[b] Cicero, Oratore li Pariſiis 1 In Gramm cis, poeti pertractat hiſtoriam

cognitio, verborum interpretatio, pronunciandi quidem ſonus —— *From which* Strebæus *Commentator concludes*, —— Alteram, quæ in hiſtoriarum cognitione ſit, unde Grammatici à poetis & oratoribus, verborum ſignificationes, inflexiones, Syntaximque deſumunt. Lodoic. Strebæus in Ciceronem l. 1. de Orat. fol. 69. b. Pariſiis 1564.

[c] Quintilian. Inſtit. Orat. l. 2. c 4. —— apud Rhetorem initium ſit hiſtoria. 1568.

And there have not been wanting ſeveral Schoolmaſters who (like Commentators upon *Cicero*'s Text) have excelled in the writing of Hiſtory. Thus not to mention many

many among the *Greeks*, we have *Herodian* of *Alexandria*, who [d] wrote the Lives of the *Roman Emperors* from *Commodus* to *Gordian*, and whom [e] the learned [f] *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch *Photius* judges inferior to few in all the Virtues of an Historian. And among the *Latins*, *Suetonius Tranquillus*, [g] who by his Lives of the Twelve first *Cæsars*, in the Opinion of *Vives*, [h] that [i] learned *Spaniard*, merits the character of a most diligent and incorrupt Historian.

ycosthenes Elencho iptorum iorum .12. Herodius Alexanius Gramicus scripvitas Impeorum à nmodo ad dianum. ll. 1551.

Photius in Bibliothecâ sive Myrobibl. Rothomagi 1653. Cod. 99. p. 275. —— ἁπλῶς ἐν πάσαις κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρεταῖς οὐ πολλῶν ἐστι δεύτερος. *This* Herodian *is ed by the Grammarian* Priscian, *in his preface to his Grammar*, apud Gramat. Latin. Auctor. an- p. 534. Hanoviæ 1605.

Vide Pauli Colomesii de Photii scriptis dissertat. in calce Chartophylac. Eccles. Guilielmi Cave 7. Londini 1685.

Angelus Politianus in præfat. ad Suetonium, Basileæ 1537. — hunc (i. e. Suetonium) non- i inter Grammaticos recensent.

Joan. Lodovicus Vives de disciplinis l. 5. fol. 128. Antverpiæ 1531. Sueton. Tranq. corum & Latinorum scriptorum diligentiss. atque incorruptiss. res XII. Cæsarum videtur mihi gerrimè exponere, &c.

Erasmi Epistol. l. 20. p. 755. — Basileæ 1540. Joanni Ludovico Vivi — tibi vel Hispano undique docto.

Nor are we wanting Examples of this kind in our own Nation, since we may challenge *Will. Camden* and *Richard Knolls* to our side. To the former of which [k] the most celebrated *Camden* we are indebted for his ac-

istor. & q. Uni- Oxon. p. 270. Oxon. 1674. Scholæ Westmonasteriensis Hypodidascalus, & vel cedente ultro, morte abrepto venerabili illo Theologo Edvardo Grant, Gymnasiarcha emicuit. Id muneris mâ cum assiduitate ac diligentiâ obivit: intereà tamen operis clarissimi cui Britannia nomen am, fundamenta solennibus feriandi temporibus horisque succisivis jecit; sed & idem porrò in literis præmonstrandis occupatus esset, absolvit, typisque semel atque iterum ut opinor, dandum curavit. —— Britannia sive Regnorum Angliæ, &c. descriptio, Londini 1585. ——

Et Degorel Whear. Parentatio Historica, inter Camdeni Insign. Oxon. 1624. —— magister constituitur — ut venerabili decedente Grantâ, ipse sine ambitu summus moderator aut. Dum laboriosam hanc sustinuit provinciam, Deus bone! quæ & quanta elucubravit? Græcè, nè, Anglicè eaque per horas subcesivas! unum illud & incomparabile opus suum mihi videtur, Britanniæ nostræ Antiquitatem & suæ antiquitati Britanniam restituit, &c. *That he was he chief Master of that School when he wrote his* Britannia, *but only Usher thereof, (though both the quoted Authors seem to make him the contrary, by the* Intereà tamen, *&c. of the one, and the* Dum laosam hanc sustinuit provinciam *of the other.) I need no other proof, than his calling* Westminster *is Epistle Dedicatory to* Will. Cecil *Lord* Burghley) Collegium hoc nostrum Westmonasteriense; Edw. Grant's *writing himself* — Scholæ Westm. moderator, *before his Verses in praise of* Camden.

curate

curate Deſcription of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and the adjacent Iſles, while he was (only) *Uſher* of *Weſtminſter* ~~School~~: And to the latter we are obliged for the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory, while he was Schoolmaſter of *Sandwich* in *Kent*[1].

[1] Hiſtor. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. l. 2. p. 163. Richardus Knolles —— ut Scholæ ipſius Sandvici in agro Cantiano præeſſe In illo munere, bene quidem de Grammaticâ, ſed meliùs de Hiſtoriâ meruit, quam horis ſubſecivis —— ita adornavit ut duodecim vel circiter annorum ſpatio ab illo conſcripta fuerit Hiſtor Turcica Lond. 1610. Angl.

All which Inſtances are undeniable Teſtimonies, that the Studies of *Grammar* and *Hiſtory* are not ſo incompatible, as ſome are made to believe.

A Cata-

A Catalogue of the Hiſtorians cited in the following Collection, and the Times when they lived.

	Anno Mundi.
Julius Ceſar	3900
	Ann. Chriſt.
Cornelius Tacitus	110
Zoſimus	425
Paulus Oroſius	
Gildas Sapiens	581
Venerabilis Beda	700
Aſſerius Menevenſis	900
Elwardus ſive Ethelwerdus	970
Ingulphus Croylandenſis	1066
Florentius Wigornienſis	1118
Eadmerus	1120
Willielmus Malmesburienſis	1143
Ethelredus ſive Ailredus Rhievallenſis	1150
Simeon Dunelmenſis	
Johannes Hagulſtadenſis	
Petrus Blaſenſis	1160
Henricus Huntindonienſis	
Richardus Hagulſtadenſis	1180
Guilielmus Neubrigenſis	1200
Gervaſius Dorobernienſis	
Rogerus de Hoveden	1202
Radulfus de Diceto	1210
Matthæus Paris	1240
Johannes Bromton Jorvallenſis	1328
Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis	1377
Henricus de Knyghton	1395
Johannes Froſſardus	1420
Thomas de Walſingham	1440
Hiſtoriæ Croylandenſis continuationis Author	1486
Polydorus Vergilius	1533

A New

A New

HISTORY

OF

The SUCCESSION of the CROWN

OF

ENGLAND,

Particularly from King *Egbert*, till King *Henry* the Eighth, *&c.*

WHat were the Tranſactions of this Nation before *Julius Cæſar* firſt invaded it, is not eaſie to underſtand, ſince the Inhabitants thereof had no certain way of conveying them down to the view of Poſterity. [a] On which account we may juſtly reject all thoſe pretended Succeſſions of Kings here in *Britain*, from *Gomer* and *Brute*, as fabulous.

That the *Britains* had Kings before the coming of *Cæſar*, is owned [b] not only by *Cornelius Tacitus*, (who [c] pretends that a man ought to write without engaging his Affections for any Party) but by [d] *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, who mentions four Kings to have been in that part of *Britain*, which we now call *Kent*.

[a] Dr. Edw. Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, *Book* 1. *c.* 6. *ſect.* 4. *p.* 96. London 1663.

[b] *Tacitus* in vitâ Julii Agricolæ, *Amſterdami* 1638. p. 471. Olim regibus parebant.

[c] Id. Hiſtor. lib. 1. p. 287. Sed incorruptam fidem profeſſis, nec amore quiſquam & ſine odio dicendus eſt.

[d] *Julius Cæſar* in comment. de bello Gallico, lib. 5. p. 83. Caſſivellaunus ad Cinetium, quod eſſe ad mare ſupra demonſtravimus, quibus regionibus 4. reges præerant, Cingetorix, Cornelius, Taxinagulus, Segonax, Nuncios mittit. *Amſtelodami* 1664.

But both in the time of that famous Emperor [e], and in that of *Tacitus*, [f] as then *British* Royalties were but small, so their mutual Wars were frequent. And though upon the coming of *Cæsar*, the chief command of all, and especially of managing the War against him, was devolved upon one *Cassivilan*, as the fittest General to oppose *Cæsar*'s Victories: Yet was it a very rare thing to see two or three Cities united in a common Danger; their continued Discords laying them open to the fury of every Invader.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 79. Summa imperii belliq; administrandi, communi consilio permissa est, Cassivellauno, cujus fines à maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, à mari circiter millia passuum lxxx. Huic superiori tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserant, sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti bello imperióque præfecerant.

[f] Con. Tacitus in vitâ Jul. Agricolæ p. 471. Nunc per principes factionibus & studiis trahuntur Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus. Ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.

In such Factions who can expect a direct Succession, when the Princes themselves were not quiet in their little States?

But the Roman domination extending it self over this [g] Nation by the Valour and Conduct of *Julius Agricola*, during the Empire of *Domitian*, those Princes who sometimes ruled in a corner of this Island, being substituted by the *Roman* Powers, could not dispose of the Succession of their little Crowns, without the leave of the *Cæsars*: So that indeed here was no Government, but what the conquering *Romans* were pleased to allow of, for the space of near 400 years; during which time, an exact account of the Monarchical Succession in this Nation, which often was not in being, cannot be given, unless we consider it in the Persons of the *Roman* Emperors, who ruled here, most an end, by their Lieutenants. And as their Elections were often tumultuary, so was the Succession thereby con-

[g] Vid. eundem, ibid. p. 482, 483.

confused and disjointed, seldom remaining long in one and the same Family.

That Empire being rudely shaken and almost torn in pieces (in the *West*) [h] by Rebels and the *Barbarians*, who broke in upon it, in the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Valentinian* III. [i] this Nation was thereby freed from the *Roman* Yoke, but found its Condition not altered for the better. Since it was so far from being able to maintain its own Liberty and support a Regal Estate, after the final departure of the *Romans*, that it became first a Prey to its furious Neighbours, the *Scots* and *Picts* (whom the *Romans* had so often and but lately repelled) and at last to the warlike *Saxons*, whose aid the *Britains* had implored against the Encroaches of their Northern Foes, and who at last subdued all that part of *Britain* now call'd *England*, and cantoniz'd it into an Heptarchy or seven fold Kingdom, driving the ancient Possessors the *Britains* into *Wales*.

[h] Zosim. Histor. Novel. lib. 6. p. 376. Oxonii 1679. ᾗ ἡ μὲν Βρεττανία ἢ πᾶσ' ἡ ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐθνῶν ἀπόστασις, καὶ' ὃν ἐλευθέρα χρόνον ὁ Καισαρῶν ἐχάτο, ἐχάτο, &c.

Paulus Orosius Histor. ad Aurelium Augustinum l. 7. p. 223. col. 1. in Biblioth. Patrum Supplement. Tom. 1. Parisiis 1639. apud Britannias — Constantinus ex infimâ militiâ propter solam spem nominis, sine merito virtutis eligitur.

[i] Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum, &c. — apud Gildam sapientem de excidio Britanniæ in Biblioth. patrum Parisiis 1610. Tom. 5. col. 477. *The* Britains *sued to* Ætius, *the famous Roman General in* Gaul, *for his assistance against the* Scots *and* Picts, *when he had been thrice Consul, which happened in the Reign of* Valentinian III. *and he discharged the Office of Consul the third time in* An. Dom. 446. Isaacson's *Chronology, or* Saturni Ephemerides, p. 228. *London*, 1633.

But before this Conquest was effected, many Battels were fought, and much Blood shed for above two hundred years, in which time the *Britains* struggled for the Soveraignty with these formidable Invaders, and had, during that long space of time, Kings who presided over them, who as, according to the Testimony of [k] *Gildas* the most ancient Writer of our Na

[k] *Gildas*, ubi suprà, col. 477, & 478. Ungebantur reges non per Dominum, sed qui cæteris crudeliores existerent — ab unctoribus non pro veri examinatione trucidabantur, aliis electis trucioribus. Si quis verò eorum mitiorum, & veritati aliquatenus proprior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniæ subversorem, omnium odia telaq; sine respectu contorquebantur, & omnia quæ displicuerint, Deóque placuerint, æquali saltem lance pendebantur.

tion now extant, they were uſually choſen. So did not they obtain that Honour upon any other ſcore than that of excelling others in Cruelty and other Vices: For, if upon their advancement (ſaith my Author) they were milder, and ſeemed more favourable to Truth than uſual, they were quickly diſpatched by thoſe who anointed them, and made way for thoſe who had leſs ſence of Humanity. He being made the Object of the univerſal hatred, and all Darts levelled at him, as the Subverter of *Britain*, who was leſs wicked than others. In ſuch a confuſed Monarchy, who can expect a direct Succeſſion, when Vice was the Stair whereby to aſcend the Regal Throne, and when Paſſion and Revenge carried all before them? 'Tis true, that pious man, whoſe Writings (yet extant) ſhew his diſſatisfaction at the Iniquity of his Age, [l] mentions, That the Off-ſpring of *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who once ſwayed the *Britiſh* Scepter, remained in his time, and was mightily degenerated: But he doth not ſay, That they ſucceeded to the Regal Dignity. Which ſilence of his implys, That they (being of the true Royal Race) were in that age (when Vice was ſo prevalent and barefac'd) laid aſide, and conſequently that Hereditary Succeſſion was not ſo much attended to in that horrid Convulſion of the *Britiſh* State, as at other times of greater Tranquility.

[l] Id. ibid. col. 479. Cujus (*i. e.* Aurelii Ambroſii) nunc temporibus noſtris ſoboles avitâ bonitate degeneráverit.

Whatſoever was the Succeſſion of thoſe *Britiſh* Princes, againſt whom *Gildas* inveighs with bitterneſs enough, we cannot expect that during the [m] *Saxon* Heptarchy, it ſhould be conſtantly obſerved as ſacred, when each Prince contended with his Neighbours, about the limits of his Territories, and the whole

[m] *Whoſe firſt coming into this Nation, and that upon the* Britains *inviting them thither, is placed by venerable* Bede, *in* An. Dom. 409. Bede Eccleſiaſticæ Hiſtor. gentis Anglorum Lovanii 1566. lib. 1. cap. 15 fol. 16. Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringenteſimo nono Anglorum ſive Saxonum gens invitata à rege præfato, Britanniam, tribus longis navibus advehitur.

ſeemed

ſeemed to be only a cloudy ſtate of War; and when even in thoſe few lucid Intervals of Peace each Kingdom was governed by different Laws, it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed that they all agreed in the ſame Rule of Succeſſion. Albeit in the leſs and more quiet Kingdoms Crowns were diſpoſed of generally in an Hereditary manner.

But in the more potent Dynaſties of *Kent*, *Weſt Saxe* and *Northumberland*, that order was not conſtantly adhered to. Thus, according to *Will.* of *Malmsbury*, who (of all the ancient Hiſtorians which have written in Latin, and are yet extant) writes the moſt copiouſly of the Heptarchy; *Bede* dying before the concluſion thereof, and the reſt who were ſenior to him in time, ſcarce animadverting upon it, but dwelling more upon the Tranſactions of their Progenitors, after it became a Monarchy, as Subjects more worthy an Hiſtorian's Pen. I ſay, according to the account that this Monk of *Malmsbury* hath given us in the Kingdom of *Kent*,[m] for *ſix* years ſpace, there was a Flaw in the Regal Succeſſion.

[m] W. Malmeſburienſis de geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. 1. fol. 11. Francofurti 1601. ——Cantiæ ſexennio circiter à regiâ ſucceſſione claudicatum.

In that of *Northumberland*, the ſecond King *Alla* broke the direct[n] Succeſſion, being of the ſame ſtock, but deſcended in a different line from *Woden* their great Anceſtor; and the many Murthers[o] perpetrated upon the Kings thereof towards the concluſion of that Dynaſty, deterred others from aſpiring to that Dignity, whoſe poſſeſſion was ſo fatal:[p] ſo that the Throne was vacant for Thirty three years.

[n] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 3. fol. 17. Succeſſor ejus Alla ex eodem quidem genere, ſed diverſo à Wodenio tractu.

[o] Id. ibid. fol. 26. Poſt Athelredum nullus ad regnum aſcendere auſus eſt, dum quiſque ſuperiorum ſibi caſum timeret.

[p] Ita ceſſante rectore, per triginta tres annos, provincia illa riſui & prædæ finitimis fuit.

Nor

Nor was the Crown of *Weſt Saxe*, (the moſt potent Kingdom of all the Heptarchy, and which at laſt ruined all the reſt) enjoyed in a direct hereditary Succeſſion, ſince for ſeven Deſcents, from King [q] *Ina*'s time till *Brithric*'s, the Succeſſion in the right line was not obſerved. But this proof is ſuperfluous, ſince no rational man can believe, that in ſo many petty States ſtill contending with each other, any thing could long bear ſway there, but Strife and Confuſion. I ſhall therefore without any further diſquiſition into the procedure of thoſe little Kingdoms, paſs on to King

[q] Id. ibid. lib. 1. c. 2. fol. 16. Nam & ipſe Brithricus, & cæteri infra Inam Reges, licèt natalium ſplendore gloriantes (quippe quirde Cerdicio originem traherent) non parum tamen à lineâ regiæ ſtirpis exorbitaverant.

Egbert, who altho' he be named the firſt [r] *Saxon Monarch*, who ruled in this Iſland, and therefore is uſually ſtiled the Uniter of the Heptarchy into one entire Monarchy, yet cannot he in ſtrictneſs be ſo judged. Becauſe the Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and *Eaſt-Angles* were not wholly extinguiſhed in his time, nor till above 30 years after, when his famous Grandchild, the great *Alfred* firſt eſtabliſhed the *Saxon Monarchy*.

[r] Henric. Spelman.—Concilia, Londini 1639. poſt Errata. Et nota, quòd licèt Collector tabulæ ſeu Elenchi Regum Anglo-Saxonum, in ejuſdem fine dixerit, ſeptem Regna in Monarchiam coaluiſſe ſub Egberto Rege Occiduorum Saxonum; quia is ab aliis primus monarcha perhibetur: Certum tamen eſt regna Merciorum & Anglorum Orientalium non extincta eſſe penitus per 30 & ſupra annos poſt Egberti exitum: & Aluredum magnum (ejus è filio neporem) primum fuiſſe qui abſolutam ſtatuit monarchiam.

This magnanimous Prince, *Egbert*, the only ſurviving man of the truly Royal Race, and who [s] upon that ſcore had attracted the envy of his Predeceſſor *Brithric*, (as we are informed by *William*, Monk, and Keeper of the Library at *Malmesbury*, ſo much [t] commended by our learned Sir *Henry Savile*,

[s] W. Malmeſbur. de geſtis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. c. 2. fol. 16. Egbertum ſolum regalis proſapiæ ſuperſtitem metuebat (*i. e Brithric.*) obicem.

[t] Henr. Savile Epiſt. dedicat. Eliz. Reginæ præfix. Rerum Anglicarum. Scriptor. poſt Bedam præcipuis Francofurti 1601. Gulielmus Malmesburienſis, homo, ut erant illa tempora, literatè doctus, qui ſeptingentorum plùs minùs annorum res tantâ fide & diligentiâ pertexuit, ut è noſtris propè ſolus hiſtorici munus expléſſe videatur.

and

and [x] by the moſt learned Primate of *Ireland*, Dr *James Uſher*) was the firſt, (as hath been already ſaid) who brought the disjointed States of this Nation into the Form of a Monarchy; and who by his Valour and prudent Conduct made it bear ſome Character and Figure in this Weſtern World. And 'tis from him, that I ſhall begin my epocha, and derive the Original of our Regal Succeſſion, who by Merit as well as Birth juſtly obtained the ſupreme Dignity [z] by Election. Being invited (ſaith the laſt quoted Hiſtorian) to return to *Britain* (from *France*, whither he had fled in the Reign of K. *Brithric*) by frequent Embaſſies from his own People, and after his Return, being enjoyned to rule them, he ſatisfied the Deſires of his Country, in the Year of Grace 800.

[x] Jac. Uſſerius Epiſt. dedic. libri cui titulus, Britannicarum Eccleſiarum Antiquitates Dubſinii 1639. —— Noſtrorum Hiſtoricorum præcipuus Guilielmus Malmesburienſis Bibliothecarius. *This* W. *of* Malmeſbury *dedicated his Hiſtory to* Robert *Earl of* Glocester, *natural Son to our King* Henry I.

[z] Wil. Malmesb. ibid. Ibid. defuncto imperare juſſus,

lib. 2. c. 1. fol. 36. Egberthus ut vir ille ad tantum regnum electus —— Brictrico frequentibus ſuorum nunciis Britanniam reverſus, moxque patriæ deſideriis ſatisfecit, anno Dominicæ incarnat. octingenteſimo.

With this Account of the manner of his Advancement to the Throne agrees *Ethelward* or *Elward* [y] an Hiſtorian of the Blood Royal, being deſcended from *Egbert* himſelf, by his Grandchild *Ethelred*, third Son to King *Ethelwolph*, who [a] ſaith, That *Egbert* was ordained King over the Weſtern Engliſh. But *Florentius* [b] of *Worceſter* only barely tells us, That *Egbert* ſucceeded to *Brithric*, without giving us the Reaſons why he attained to the Regal Diadem.

[y] Ethelwerdi Chronica Francofurti 1601. lib. 4. c. 2. p. 843. Quartus Ethelred. qui poſt obitum Edelbyrhti ſucceſſit in regnum qui & meus atavus & Wil.

Malmesb. in prol. lib. 1. de geſtis Regum Anglorum p. 7. — De Elwardo illuſtri & magnifico viro, qui chronica illa Latinè aggreſſus eſt digerere, præſtat ſilere.

[a] Ethelwerd. chronic. lib. 3. c. 2. — Ordinatur Ecgbyrht ſuper occidentales Anglos in regnum, &c.

[b] Florentii Wigornienſis chronicon ex chronicis Francofurti 1601. p. 577. Rex occidentalium Saxonum Brihtricus obiit, & Egbertus ſucceſſit.

To

To the renowned *Egbert* ſucceeded his eldeſt Son *Ethelwolph* in the Kingdom of *Weſt Sax*; but not in thoſe [a] of *Kent*, *Suſſex* and *Eaſt Saxe*: ſaith *Henry*, Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*. For theſe, (he ſaith) were beſtowed by *Egbert* on his younger Son *Ethelſtan*.

[a] Henrici Huntindonienſis Hiſtoriæ, Francofurti 1601. lib. 4. p. 345. Regnorum, quæ in propria manu tenebat, filios fecit hæredes: Edelwlfum ſuper Weſt Sexe, Edelſtan verò ſuper Cent & Sudſexe & Eſt Sexe. *This Hiſtorian is highly commended (together with* Roger Hoveden) *by the excellently learned Sir* H. Savile Epiſt. dedicat. Rerum Anglicarum Script. — Huntindonienſis, & Hovedenus, authores cum primis boni & diligentes, veriſimique ſuperiorum temporum indices.

Indeed *W.* of [b] *Malmesbury*, ſenior to *Henry*, and the more [c] ancient *Ethelward* ſeem to make *Ethelſtan* the Son (and not the Brother) of *Ethelwolph*, and conſequently that thoſe three Kingdoms were the Gift of King *Ethelwolph* to *Ethelſtan*, and not of *Egbert*; but whetherſoever it be, it is certain, That his elder Brother poſſeſſed not all his Father's Kingdoms.

[b] Wil. Malmeſ. de geſtis Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 2. p. 37. Cætera quæ pater (i. e. Egbertus) ſubjugaverat, appendicia Ethelſtano filio contradidit.

[c] Ethelw. Chronic. lib. 3 c. 3. p 841. — Regnumque Cantuariorum tradidit filio ſuo Ethelſtano & Sexenæ & Suthriæ, hoc eſt orientalem partem, auſtralem & mediam. *It cannot be denyed, that* Ingulphus *was ſenior to* W. *of* Malmesbury; *but then it muſt be granted, That he treated of the Hiſtory of our Kings before the Norman Conqueſt but by the bye, and therefore is not here produced as an Evidence one way or other.*

The ſame Method which his Father *Egbert* (as *H.* of *Huntington* tels us) had taken in diſtributing his Kingdoms at his Death, was purſued by *Ethelwolph* himſelf. For [d] as *W.* of *Malmesbury* informs us, Some Months before he yielded to Fate, he made a Will, and divided his Kingdoms betwixt his two elder Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*. And, accordingly, they were ordained Kings after his Deceaſe. (So [e] *Ethelward* expreſſes it:) *Ethelbald* poſſeſſing *Weſt Saxe*,

[d] W Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 1. c. 2. p. 40. Faucis verò ante mortem menſibus teſtamentum fecit, in quo poſt diviſionem inter Ethelbaldum & Ethelbrithum filios, &c.

[e] Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4. c. 18. Præterea poſt obitum Athulfi regis, ordinati ſunt filii ejus in regnum, Ethelbald ſuper Occidentales Anglos, & Aethelbyrt ſuper Cantuarios, & Orientales, Auſtrales quoque & medios Anglos p. 842.

and

and *Ethelbert* the Kingdoms of *Kent*, of the *Eaſtern*, *Southern* and *Middle Angles*. But the famous King *Alfred* (more ancient than either of theſe laſt mentioned Hiſtorians) [f] quoting his Father's Will (for he was *Ethelwolph*'s Son, and when an Infant was carried to *Rome* by his Father, and was [g] anointed as a King by Pope *Leo* IV. as *Aſſer Menevenſis* tells us: He, I ſay, cites his Father's Will) wherein his Father bequeathed his Kingdom to his three Sons, *Ethelbald*, *Ethelred* (ſaying nothing of *Ethelbert*) and himſelf, upon this condition, That whichſoever of the three ſhould ſurvive the reſt, he ſhould enjoy the whole Soveraignty. Which Will is an undenyable Evidence, That antiently, even in this very Nation, the whole Kingdom was not entailed upon the eldeſt Sons of our Kings.

[f] Teſtamentum Ælfredi Regis in calce Aſſerii Menevenſis (*the Time and Place of whoſe edition is not mentioned*) p. 36 — De hæreditate quam pater meus Æthelwulphus rex nobis tribus fratribus delegavit. viz. Æthelbaldo, Ætheredo & mihi: ita quòd qui noſtrum diutius foret ſuperſtes, ille totius regni dominio congauderet.

[g] Aſſerii Menevenſis Ælfredi Regis reſ geſtæ p. 3. quo tempore Leo Papa 4. Apoſtolicæ Sedi præerat; qui prætatum Ælfredum oppido ordinans unxit in regem & in filium adoptionis ſibimet accipiens confirmavit.

Upon the Death of the Eldeſt Son *Ethelbald*, betwixt whom and his Brother *Ethelbert*, according to [h] *Ingulphus*, the Kingdom had been divided, the Surviver poſſeſſed [i] the Kingdom of *Weſt Saxe* alſo.

[h] Hiſtoria Ingulphi Oxoniæ 1684. p. 17. mortuo ſimul Ethelwlpho Rege Weſtſaxonum, Ethelbaldus & Ethelbertus filii ejus regnum paternum inter ſe partiuntur.

[i] Ethelw. Chronic. p. 842. Quinquennio ante impleto obiit Ethelbald rex & Æthelbyrht frater ejus ſucceſſit in utraque parte. Rex Æthelwaldus defunctus eſt — & Æthelbertus frater ſuus Cantiam, Suthregiam, Suthſaxan quoque ſuo dominio (ut juſtum erat) ſubjunxit. Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 584.

To *Ethelbert* ſucceeded his Brother [k] *Ethelred* in the entire Kingdom, which his Father left. Concerning whoſe acceſſion to the Throne, three of our moſt

[k] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 3. p. 42. Anno Dom. 867. Ethelredus filius Ethelwolphi regnum paternum obtinuit—— Ingulph[i] Hiſtor. p. 18. Et Ethelredus tertius frater in regnum elevatur. Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4. c. 2. p. 842. Enimvero Ethered ſucceſſit in regnum poſt obitum fratris ſui Ethelbyrhti.

ancient Historians have different Expressions. *W.* of *Malmesbury* saith, He obtained his Father's Kingdom; *Ingulphus*, That he was lifted up, or advanced to it; and *Ethelward*, That he succeeded in it, after his Brother *Ethelbert*'s Death.

Presently after *Etheldrea*'s Death, his youngest Brother, the learned, valiant, and prudent *Alfred*, (who had been next in degree [l] to his Brothers during their Lives, (as *Asser Menevensis*, who lived at that time informs us) undertook the Government of the whole Kingdom, with the Good-Will of all. To which Dignity he might easily have attained [m] (saith the same Historian) even during his Brother's Life-time, if he had pleased then to accept thereof (though a later Author affirms, That he did [n] reign so, and that too with an universal consent. And he accordingly [o] in his Will doth own, That he obtained the Crown, by the Divine Gift, by the Endeavour of Archbishop *Athelred*, and by the Consent and Assent of all the *West Saxon* Nobility. Which what he intends thereby, I leave to the Reader to determine. Although it cannot be denyed, That as he obtained the Kingdom: (as [p] the Historian *Ethelward*, his Kinsman, words it) and that too pursuant of [q] his Father's Testament (which judged it to him who should outlive the rest) and consequent of the Gift (or Election) thereof to him, by the Princes and Elders of the

[l] Asser. Menev. in Ælfredi Regis gest. p. 12. Eodem anno Ælfred. supra memoratus, qui usque ad id temporis viventibus fratribus suis secundarius fuerat, totius regni gubernacula divino concedente nutu, cum summâ omnium illius regni accolarum voluntate confestim fratre defuncto suscepit.

[m] Id. ibid. Quod etiam vivente prædicto fratre suo, si dignaretur accipere, facillimè cum consensu omnium potuerat invenire.

[n] Ethelred. Abbas Rievall. inter Histor. Anglic. Script. X. Londini 1652. col. 352. — Cum verò post mortem fratrum suorum, cum quibus aliquo tempore regnavit, ad eum totum regnum, &c.

[o] Testamentum Ælfredi Regis — Ego Elfredus divino munere, labore ac studio Athelredi Archiepiscopi, nec non totius West-Saxonum nobilitatis consensu pariter ac assensu Occidentalium Saxonum rex — p. 36.

[p] Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4 c. 3. p 844. Alfred obtinuit regnum migratu post fratrum, &c.

[q] Testament. Ælf. p. 36. — Tam de hæreditate quam Deus ac principes cum senioribus populi misericorditer ac benignè dedêrunt, quam de hæreditate quam pater meus Æthelwolphus rex nobis tribus Fratribus delegavit, &c. ut suprà. — ibid. p. 38. Athelmo verò fratris mei filio do villam de Edingburn — Et fratris mei filio Ethelbaldo concedo villam de Godelming.

People;

People; ſo he thereby ſtept over the Heads of his elder Brother's Sons (two of which he mentions in his own Will, *viz. Athelmus* and *Ethelbald*, beſtowing a Village on each of them) to arrive to the Regal Honour and Dignity. Which was ſo great a Breach in the Chain of the Succeſſion, that I often wonder that a late Author did not take any Notice of it: And that eſpecially, when *Ethelward*, one of the moſt ancient Hiſtorians of our Nation, and a Deſcendent from the elder Brother *Ethelred*, was thereby diſinherited in the Age ſucceeding.

Upon the Death of the famous *Alfred*, his ſon [r] *Edward* was choſen King by the Nobles on *Whitſunday*, as his Kinſman *Ethelward* informs us. *William* [s] of *Malmesbury* ſaith, he obtained the Kingdom in the Year of the Lord 901.—Which Words, whether they will import any more than a tacite Aſſent, or that they ſignifie an Election of him by the Grandees, I ſhall not preſume to judge. But when this war-like Prince had paid his laſt Tribute to Nature, his Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded him in the Throne.

[r] Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4. c. 4. p. 847. Succeſſor etiam tam monarchiæ Eadwerus poſt filius ſuprà memorati regis coronatur ipſe —— à primatis electus Pentecoſtes in die, &c.

[s] Wil. Malm. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 5. p. 46. Anno dominicæ incarnationis nongenteſimo primo regnum obtinuit Edwardus filius Alfredi.

In declaring which, the Hiſtorians have very different Expreſſions, and thoſe oppoſite to each other: Albeit the moſt ancient among them, *viz.* [t] *Ethelward* and [v] *Ingulphus* barely mention his Succeſſion to that Dignity. [x] *Florentius* of *Worceſter* ſaith, His Father left the Kingdom to him, which is as ambiguous, as what that Author had ſaid before of *Ethel-*

[t] Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4. c. 5. p. 848. Anno etiam in quo imperii ſuſcitus fuerat Stefos Æthelſtan rex robuſtiſſimus, &c.

[v] Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 29. Cui ſucceſſit filius ſuus primogenitus Athelſtanus. *And ſo he doth of all the Kings from* K. Ethelred *to King* Edwy. ibid. *from p.* 25. *to p.* 41. *which lax way of writing determines the Buſineſs in favour of no ſide.*

[x] Florent. Wigorn. Chronic. p. 602. Ex hâc vitâ tranſiens, Æthelſtano filio regni gubernacula reliquit.

red the firſt, [y] That he undertook the Government of the Kingdom after his Brother *Ethelbert*'s Death: Which Sentence might be turned to different Senſes ——But, to proceed, *William of Malmesbury* (the next Hiſtorian in Order of Time) tells us, That [z] a few Daies after his Father's Death, *Ethelward*, *Athelſtan*'s Brother, dyed alſo, and was buried with him at *Wincheſter*. Therefore (adds the ſame Author) *Athelſtan* was elected in the ſame Place, with the full Conſent of the Grandees, although there was one *Alfred*, who with ſome factious Perſons endeavoured to oppoſe him: The Occaſion (continues the Hiſtorian) of this Diſpute with *Athelſtan* was, as they report, Becauſe he had been begotten of a Concubine. But beſides that Reproach, (if that was really true) *Athelſtan* (he ſaid) had nothing that was ignoble in him.

[y] Id. ibid. p. 585. Ætheldredus regis Ætheiberti frater, Occidentalium Saxonum regni gubernacula ſuſcepit.

[z] 47. Wil. Malmesb. de geſtis regum Angl. l. 2. c. 6. p. 48. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis, nongenteſimo viceſimo quarto, Athelſtanus filius Edwardi regnare cœpit Frater ejus Ethelwardus paucis diebus poſt patrem vitâ decedens, ſepultura cum eodem Wintoniæ meruerat. Itaque magno conſenſu optimatum, ibidem Æthelſtanus electus ——Quamvis quidam Alfredus cum factioſis ſuis (quia ſeditio ſemper invenit complices) obviare tentaſſet. Occaſio contradictionis, ut ferunt, quod Æthelſtanus ex concubinâ natus eſſet. Sed ipſe præter hanc notam (ſi tamen vera eſt) nihil ignobile habens, &c.

[a] Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria de geſtis regum Anglorum, Londini 1652. col. 154. Ethelſtanus verò in Kingeſtune, id eſt in villâ regiâ, in Regem levatur, &c.

Simeon, [a] Monk and Precentor of *Durham* reckoned [b] by our great *Selden* among the learned Men of his Time, ſaith, [c] He was advanced to the Kingdom. And ſo doth *Roger Hoveden* [c]: who was [d] as much the Ape of *Simeon*; as he ſometimes was of *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, or the Abbot [e] of *Joreval* was of *Roger*.

[b] Joannes Seldenus ad lectorem, in editione Hiſtoriæ Anglicanæ decem Scriptor. Londini 1652. p. 1 Simeon Dunelmenſis monachus ibi Benedictinus & Eccleſiæ Præcentor, atque viris illius ævi doctioribus merito connumerandus.

[c] Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium pars prior, Francofurti 1601. p. 422. Athelſtanus verò in Kingeſtune, id eſt, in regiâ villâ, in regem levatur, &c.

[d] Joan. Selden. ut ſuprà, p. 2. Rogerius Hovedenus, vir alioquin laudandus, qui Scrinia Simeonis (ſc. Dunelmenſis) ſuppreſſo ejus nomine, ſtrenuè compilavit, & aliena pro ſuis, gloriæ avidulus, ſuppoſuit.

[e] Id ibid. p. 41. ——Plura ex Hovedeno ſumpſit, &c.

Henry

Henry of *Huntington* [f], That he was elected. *John Bromton*, Abbot of *Joreval* [g] lately mentioned, ſaith only, That he was conſecrated upon his Succeſſion, by *Athelm* Archbiſhop of *York*; without informing us any more of the Motives of his Advancement, than that he was the eldeſt Son of his Father. And laſtly, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, junior to all the reſt declares, That [h] *Athelſtan* his Father's eldeſt Son created King, was at the royal Village of *Kingſton* conſecrated by (the aforeſaid Prelate) *Æthelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Reaſon why I quoted ſo many Hiſtorians, and many of them too far diſtant from the reign of *Athelſtan*, is becauſe moſt of them have been already cited by Authors of different Judgments to maintain their own hypotheſes: and if I had in this Caſe of King *Athelſtan*, ſo much bandyed betwixt two Parties, omitted the various Opinions of theſe Hiſtorians, I might have been cenſured as partial to this or that Side. Which having done, I leave them to the Judgment of the Reader, to interpret as his own Reaſon, aſſiſted with the Hiſtorians Narratives, will oblige him; and ſo I go on to

[f] Henrici Huntingdon Hiſtoria, p. 354. Adelſtan filius Edwardi electus eſt rex in Merce, & ſacratus apud Kingſtun, &c.

[g] Chronicon Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jornalenſis, Londini 1652. col. 837. defuncto rege Edwardo Adelſtanus filius ſuus primogenitus, ſibi ſuccedens, conſecratus eſt apud Kyngeſton ab Athelmo Dorobernienſi Archiepiſcopo, &c.

[h] Flores Hiſtoriarum per Matthæum Weſtmonaſterienſem Francofurti 1601. p. 185. Æthelſtanus filius ejus primogenitus apud Kingeſtoniam, regiam villam, creatus, ab Æthelmo Doroberniensi Archiepiſcopo conſecratur.

Edmund, King *Athelſtan*'s younger Brother, who ſucceeded in the Regal Power [i] after *Athelſtan*'s Death, without any Scruple or Oppoſition, ſince his elder Brother left no Iſſue. But, though *Edmund* left two Sons, when he dyed; *viz.* *Edwy* and *Edgar*; yet [k] did neither of them poſſeſs the Regal Throne, his youngeſt Brother *Edred* ſtepping into it before them. The ancient Hiſtorian *Ethelward* gives this Reaſon for *Edred*'s aſcent to the Regal Dignity, becauſe he was *Edmund*'s Brother. But, though this laſt mentioned Author be (at leaſt) one of the moſt ancient

[i] Ethelw. Chronic. l. 4. c. 6. p. 848. poſt illum (1°. Æthelſtanum) Eadmund omiſſa ſucceſſit in regna.

[k] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 849. Cui (i.e. Eadmundo) ſucceſſor extitit Eadred in regnum, ſuus quippe frater.

ancient Latin Hiſtorians we have in this Nation, and lived neareſt to the Time of any that wrote of thoſe Affairs; (all which, in this Diſquiſition, I all a-long adhere to, as the beſt Evidences and fitteſt Judges of the Courſe of the Succeſſion in the Times preceeding them) yet do I not herein look upon this Reaſon to be cogent enough: Since thereby the ſtrict hereditary Succeſſion was broken without a ſeeming juſt Ground for ſo doing.

To purſue therefore my Deſign herein, give me Leave to add, That [l] *Florentius* of *Worceſter* ſaith, *Edred* being the next Heir ſucceeding his Brother took upon him the Kingdom. [m] *Will.* of *Malmesbury* ſaith, He undertook the Kingdom: What is meant by theſe Expreſſions, I determine not: Since neither Force nor Choice is therein mentioned —— *Simeon* [n] of *Durham*, [o] *Henry* of *Huntington*, and [p] *Roger* of *Hoveden* barely tell us of his Succeſſion to the Crown, without adding the Cauſe why he did ſo. Indeed *John Bromton* [q] ſubjoyns this Reaſon, That the two Sons of *Edmund* could not yet reign, becauſe of their immature Age: And [r] *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* gives this: That they, though lawful Heirs, could not ſucceed, becauſe of their unlawful (or unfit) Age. Which is a very ſtrange Expreſſion, and implies,

[l] Florent Wigor. chronic. p. 604. — mox próximus hæres Edredus fratri ſuccedens regnum naturale ſuſcepit.

[m] W. Malm. de geſt Regn. Angl. l. 2. c. 7. Fol. 55. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 946. Edredus tertius ex filiis Edwardi regnum ſuſcipiens rexit annos 9. & dimidio.

[n] Sim. Dunel. Hiſtor. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col. 156 —— Cui Edredus frater ſuus in regnum ſucceſſit.

[o] Hen. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. 5. p. 355. Eadredus frater Eadmundi regis, filiuſque regis Adelſtani (*but that is a Miſtake, he being only* Athelſtan's *Brother*) fratri ſuo ſucceſſit in regno.

[p] Rog. de Hoveden. Annalium pars prior p. 423. anno ab incarnatione Domini 946. — cui (i. e. Eadmundus) Edredus frater ſuus in regnum ſucceſſit.

[q] Chronic. Johannis Bromton col. 862 mortuo verò dicto Edmundo rege, Edredus frater ſuus filiuſque regis Adelſtani, (*the ſame Miſtake with* Henry *of* Huntington) eò quod pueri Edwinus & Edgarus filii Edmundi præ immaturâ ætate adhuc regnare non poterant, ſibi in regno ſucceſſit, &c.

[r] Mat. Weſtmonaſt. flor. Hiſtor. p. 188. Defuncto itaque Eadmundo, & apud Glaſtoniam ſepulto, Eadredus frater ejus, in Kingſtonâ villâ regiâ, regni diadema à B. Othone archiepiſcopo Cantuar. ſuſcepit 17. Kal. Sept. Reliquit quoque duos filios hæredes legitimos, Eadwinum & Eadgarum, qui repugnante illegitimâ ætate patri ſuccedere non valebant.

That

That (then) a certain Age was required to the completion of an hereditary King; without which Qualification he was otherwiſe incapable of the Succeſſion. However, it is obvious to any thinking perſon to mark how disjoynted the hereditary Succeſſion became in this *Edred*, That he who had Nephews alive, and Sons of his elder Brother, and heirs to him (by conſequence) in a lineal deſcent, ſhould, notwithſtanding their juſt Title, be ſeated upon the Throne of his royal Anceſtors, without the leaſt Shadow of Violence, ſo far as the Light we have from theſe old Hiſtorians will permit us to ſee and obſerve.

When *Edred* was dead, his elder Brother's Son *Edwy* ſucceeded him; but through his ill management of Affairs, [t] the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* choſe his young Brother *Edgar*, even in his life time, to reign over them: Which [v] Act, however omitted by *Ethelward*, who concludes his Hiſtory with that of the renowned *Edgar*, is recorded [x] by *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Roger* of *Hoveden*, and *John Bromton*, and hinted by *Ingulphus* himſelf.

[t] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 7. fol. 55. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 955. Edwius filius Eadmundi fratris Æthelſtani ſuperioris Regis, regno potitus tenuit annis quatuor.

[v] Sim. Dunel. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col. 157. anno DCCCCLVII. Rex Anglorum Edvius, quoniam in commiſſo regimine inſipienter egit, à Mercenſibus & Northymbrenſibus contemptus, relinquitur, & ſuus germanus Clyto Eadgarus, ab eis rex eligitur; ſicque res regum ſejuncta eſt, ut flumen Tamenſe regnum diſterminaret amborum. *The very ſame Words are in* Flor. *of* Worceſter, *which confirms what I have ſaid of theſe two above.*

[x] Roger. de Hoved. Annal. pars prior p. 423 anno 957. rex Anglorum Edvius, &c. *as it is in* Simeon *of* Durham. Chronic. Johan. Bromton col. 863 — Unde Northumbrenſes & Mercenſes ipſum regem Edwinum pro malâ vitâ ſuâ expulèrunt, & fratrem ſuum Edgarum xvi. ætatis ſuæ anno in regem levaverunt; ſicque actum eſt ut flumen Thamefæ res amborum regum dividebat. Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 41. — Mox Dei judicio de majore parte regni ſui mutilatus.

After

After *Edwy*'s deceaſe, *Edgar* became King of the whole Nation, unto which, as [y] *Florentius* of *Worceſter* and *Simeon* of *Durham* do ſay, he was elected: which word may juſtly be ſuppos'd to be us'd in a large ſenſe, and not in the nature of a popular Election: becauſe he was the ſole ſurviving Heir of the Royal Family, in the direct Line from *Alfred*, and who conſequently had no Competitor for the Royal Diadem. And ſince it is ea ſie enough for any to obſerve that through the whole current of Hiſtory the Royal Family of *Cerdic*, the firſt King and Founder of the *Weſt Saxon* Royalty in this Nation, was hitherto never wholly laid aſide. [z] And here it may be added for a Corollary, That *Edgar*'s Kinſman and Contemporary *Ethelward* mentions no Election of *Edgar* at that time.

[y] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 605.— Rex Mercenſium Eadgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus, &c. Simeon. Dunel. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col. 157. rex Weſt Saxonum Edvius IV. annis regni ſui peractis defunctus — Cujus regnum ſuus Germanus rex Mercenſium Eadgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus. *Indeed* W. *of* Malmesbury, *who was ſenior to* Simeon, *when he mentions* Edgar's *acceſſion to the Crown, calls it*, Regnum adipiſcens; *getting or obtaining the Kingdom*. De geſt reg. Anglor. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 55.

[z] Ethelw. Chronic. lib. 4. c 8. p. 849. Quin ſucceſſor ejus Eadwig. in Regnum, &c. Id. ibid. c. 9. denique Eadgar coronatur in regnum, rex admirabilis, &c.

The death of the pacifick King *Edgar* occaſioned great ſtirs about the Succeſſion in the Nation. [a] 'Tis true, *Ingulphus*, the moſt ancient of our Hiſtorians, only mentions the Succeſſion of the elder Son of *Edgar*, *Edward*, to the Crown, without deſcending to particulars; but *Florentius* [b] of *Worceſter*, *W.* of *Malmeſbury*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*, ſpeak of great Diſſentions concerning the Succeſſion after King *Edgar* ſlept with his Fathers.

[a] Ingulphi Hiſtoria p. 52. Sub præfato Rege Edwardo, qui patri Edgaro ſucceſſerat in regnum, &c.

[b] Flor. Wigor. Chronic. p. 607.— De rege eligendo magna inter regni primores oborta eſt diſſenſio. Quidam namque regis filium Eadwardum, quidam verò fratrem illius elegêrunt Æthelredum. Quam ob cauſam Archiprælules Dunſtanus & Oſwaldus, cum corepiſcopis, abbatibus, ducibuſque quamplurimis in unum convenerunt, & Eadwardum, ut pater ejus præceperat, elegêrunt: Electum conſecraverunt, & in Regem unxêrunt — *Theſe very Words, except* Eadwardum *for* Edwardum *and* Egelredum *for* Æthelredum, *are in* Simeon *of* Durham, Hiſtor. de geſt. reg. Anglor. col. 160. *Good Reaſon then had I to call* Simeon, Florentius's *Apt*. Wil. Malmesb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 9. p. 60. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis nongenteſimo ſeptuageſimo quinto Eadwardus filius Edgari regnare cœpit — Illum Dunſtanus, & cæteri Epiſcopi conſentanei regali culmine ſublimârunt contra voluntatem quorundam, ut aiunt, optimatum & noverca, quæ vix dum 7. annorum puerulum Ethelredum filium ſuum provehere conabatur, ut ipſa potiùs ſub ejus nomine imperitaret.

Nor

Nor do all thoſe three Hiſtorians agree in their Narratives of theſe quarrels, which they ſay, were carried on by the Archbiſhops, *Dunſtan* and *Oſwald*, with the reſt of the Biſhops, and ſeveral of the Nobility, for *Edward* the elder Son of *Edgar*, and by a party of the Grandees, headed by *Edward*'s Step-mother, in favour of her Son *Ethelred*, then ſcarce ſeven years old; in which Conteſt the Epiſcopal Party prov'd conquerors, having Right on their ſide; and accordingly *Edward* was received and crowned King. Among theſe Hiſtorians, both *Florentius* and *Simeon* poſitively ſay, That there was a warm contention about the election of a King among perſons of the greateſt quality, and that therefore the Biſhops and many Nobles gathered together, and choſe *Edward* King, as his Father had commanded, and conſecrated and anointed him upon that election. Where by the way I cannot but ſhew my wonder at that clauſe, as his Father had commanded; as if either his Father's laſt Will could alter the Succeſſion of the Crown; or, if without it, even an hereditary Succeſſion could not be obtained. Indeed *W.* of *Malmesbury* junior to *Florentius*, ſaies not one word of an Election, but that there was a great buſtle about it. But after this the Throne becoming vacant by the murther of this *Edward* (from that and his Piety ſtiled the Martyr) occaſion'd by his Step-mother, *Elfrid* [c] his younger Brother *Ethelred* ſucceeded * him in the Kingdom.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 61. Mulier novercali odio, vipereum dolum ruminans, ut nec nomen regis filio deeſſet, inſidias privigno ſtruere, quas hoc modo conſummavit.

* Qui ſucceſſit frater ſuus Ethelredus. Ingulphi p. 54.

His turbulent and unfortunate Reign being ended, and his eldeſt Son [d] *Edmund*, from Strength of Body

[d] Wil. Malmsb. ibid. c. 10. p. 71.—Juvenis, magni roboris, & animo, & corpore, & propter hoc ab Anglis *Ironſide*, id eſt ferreum latus, nuncupatus.

and Courage of Mind called Ironſide, (tho' born [c] of an obſcure Woman, as *W.* of *Malmesbury* informs us) ſucceeded his Father (ſaith * *Ingulphus*) by the election of the *Londoners*, and all the *Weſt-Saxons*, [f] *Florentius* of *Worceſter* (for I generally give you the Hiſtorians in that order wherein they wrote; he, I ſay) tells us, That the *Londoners*, and part of the Nobility, which were in that City at the death of *Ethelred*, with one conſent advanced or made him King, while the Biſhops, Abbots, Dukes, and the other Nobles being gathered together at *Southampton*, had with one conſent choſen *Canutus* the Dane (*Edmund* and the Kingdom's great enemy) for their Lord and Soveraign, having renounced the whole Race of *Ethelred*. *Will.* of *Malmesbury* ſays [g] only, That the *Londoners* proclaimed *Edmund* King. *Simeon* of [h] *Durham* uſes the ſame terms that *Florentius* of *Worceſter* doth. Indeed [i] *Ailred* Abbot of *Rival* tells us a fine ſtory in his *Life* of *Edward* the Confeſſor, *viz.* That King *Ethelred* having in a Convention or Aſſembly of the States (for

* Ibid. erat iſte Edmundus non Emmâ natus, ſed ex quadâm aliâ, quam fama obſcura recondit.

* Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 57, 58. Cui ſucceſſit in Regnum Londonenſium & Weſt-Saxonum electione filius ejus primogenitus Edmundus, ferreum latus pro ſuâ fortitudine cognominatus.

[f] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 616, & 617. poſt cujus mortem Epiſcopi, Abbates, Duces, & quique nobiliores Anglîæ, in unum congregati, pari conſenſu, in dominum & regem ſibi Canutum elegêre, & ad eum in Suthamtoniâ venientes, omnemque progeniem regis Æthelredi, coram illo abnegando repudiantes, pacem cum eo compoſuêre & fidelitatem illi juravêre—At cives Londonienſes, & pars nobilium, qui eo tempore conſiſtebant Lundoniæ Clitonem Eadmundum unanimi conſenſu in regem levavêre.

[g] Will. Malmesb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 10. p. 72. Oppidani Edmundum in regem conclamant.

[h] Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. de geſt. reg. Angl. col. 173. *agrees exactly with* Florentius, Ægelred *being only changed for* Ethelred

[i] Ailredus (ſive Ethelredus) Abbas Rievalis de vitâ & miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris, Londini 1652. col. 372.——Cum igitur glorioſus rex Ethelredus ex filiâ præclariſſimi Comitis Thoreti (*in this he differs from* W. *of* Malmesbury) filium ſuſcepiſſet Eadmundum cognomento ferreum latus, ex reginâ autem Emmâ Aluredum, beatus Edwardus inter viſcera materna concluſus utrique præfertur —— Fit magnus coram rege Epiſcoporum Procerumque conventus, magnus plebis vulgique concurſus, deinde rex ſucceſſorem ſibi deſignare deſiderans, quid ſingulis, quidve omnibus videretur explorat. Pro diverſarum diverſâ ſententiâ res pendebat in dubio. Alii enim Eadmundum, ob invictiſſimum robur corporis, cæteris æſtimant præferendum: Alii ob virtutem Normannici generis Aluredum promovendum tutiùs arbitrantur —— Utero adhuc clauditur & in regem eligitur, non natis natus præfertur, & quem nec dum terra ſuſceperat, terræ dominus deſignatur. Præbet electioni rex conſenſum, læti præbent proceres ſacramentum, & inuſitato miraculo in ejus fide jurârunt, qui utrum naſceretur ignorârunt.

there

there was both a vaſt concourſe of Prelates, of Nobles and Commons) demanded advice whom he ſhould appoint for his Succeſſor. The matter was long in ſuſpence, by reaſon of the different Opinions in the Convention; ſome voting, That *Edmund* ought to be preferr'd before all others, by reaſon of his invincible ſtrength of body; others again judging it more ſafe to have (his half-Brother) *Alfred* advanced to that dignity, upon the account of his Norman Extract. At laſt that Child, which was yet in the Queens Womb (ſc. *Edward* the Confeſſor) was elected for King, and being yet unborn was preferred in that Aſſembly, before his elder Brothers. To this, both the King gives his willing Aſſent, and Fealty is by the Nobles freely ſworn to him who was yet unborn, and to him of whoſe Birth they could not be aſſured.

Here is an Hiſtory as miraculous as the greateſt Action of that Prince, which the Author pretends to write of; and which I ſhall leave to the Reader's Conſideration, without any other Remark than this, That if it be true, (which depends wholly upon the Credit of the Relater, who, I believe, is ſingle therein) it will ſhew, How little ſtrict Hereditary Succeſſion was valued in the middle Ages, among the *Saxons*; when an elder Brother was excluded both by the King, his Nobles and Commons, from inheriting the Crown. But, whether this Relation be true or falſe, 'tis moſt certain, it was not obſerved, and that even by the Teſtimony of the ſame Author, [k] who ſaith in another Place, That *Ethelred* dyed at *London*, leaving his Son *Edmund* Heir of his Calamity, and of his Kingdom. To conclude this

[k] Id. Ethelredus de genealogia Regum Anglorum, Londini 1652. col. 363. ——Lundoniis obiit, Edmundum filium ſuum laboris & regni relinquens hæredem.

Point, [l] *Henry* of *Huntington* ſaith, in plain Terms, That *Edmund Ironſide* was choſen King after his Father's Death; and [m] *Roger* of *Hoveden*, and [n] Abbot *Bromton*, ſing to the ſame Tune with *Florentius* and *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, *viz.* That at the ſame Time that *Edmund* entered the Throne of his Saxon Progenitors, his Rival *Canute*, the daniſh King and his Invader was owned Sovereign of a great Part of the Nation, which ſwore Allegiance to him, and renounced the whole Race of *Ethelred*: And, who [o] at laſt by the Murther of the magnanimous *Edmund* through the means of his treacherous Brother-in-law Duke *Edric*, as *Ingulphus* informs us, obtained the whole Kingdom; contrary to all Right, [p] ſince *Edwy* and *Edward*, two Sons of *Edmund* (and thoſe the true Heirs of the *Saxon* Monarchy) were then alive, and whom he afterwards ſent abroad to the King of *Sweden* to be ſlain.

[l] Henrici Hunting. Hiſtor. l. 6. p. 362. Poſt quem Edmundus filius ejus eſt electus in regem, qui cognominatus eſt *Ironſide*.

[m] Roger. Hoved. Annal. pars prim. p. 434. poſt mortem cujus, Epiſcopi, Abbates, Duces, &c. *as it is in* Florent. Wigor.

[n] Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jornalenſis Chronic. col. 903. defuncto rege Ethelredo, Epiſcopi & Abbates, & quique terræ nobiliores omnem ejus progeniem abnegantes, Kanutum pro rege apud Sutham oniam recognoverunt, &c.

[o] Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 58. perfidi Ducis Edrci prædicti inſidiis Edmundus occiſus eſt, & omnium conſenſu Cnutus ſuper totam Anglium coronatur.

[p] Will. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2 c. 10. p. 73 Filii ejus Edwius & Edwardus miſſi ad regem Sueyorum, ut perimerentur, &c.

Thus it was not Right but Might which prevailed. And the longer and ſharper Sword cut through all Titles and Pretences of a lineal Succeſſion; *Canutus* having no Colour or Pretence to the *Britiſh* Crown, but what his conquering Army made him: His Election at the Death of *Ethelred* and of *Edmund* being gained thereby; Which the fallen Family of the *Saxon* Kings could not oppoſe, [q] and to which the

[q] Id. ibid. p. 72. Ita Edmundus unanimi clamore omnium ſuperatus—Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 618. At ipſi juraverunt illi quod eum regem ſibi eligere vellent, eique humiliter obedire, & ſuo exercitui vectigalia dare, & accepto pignore de manu ſuâ nudâ cum juramentis à principibus Danorum, fratres & filios Eadmundi omnino deſpexerunt; *And* W. *of* Malmesbury *ſaith of* Canute's *Acceſſion to the Crown*, De geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 11. p. 73.—injuſtè quidem regnum ingreſſus, &c.

Treachery

Treachery of ſome Engliſh Grandees did not a little contribute, and thereby facilitated his Advancement to the Engliſh Throne.

So that without ſtrange wire-drawing, neither thoſe who ſtrictly plead for an Hereditary, nor they who eſpouſe the Cauſe of an Elective Monarchy, can juſtly lay Claim to this Act with K. *Canute* as a Precedent; When on one ſide the Royal Line of *Saxon Cerdic* was wholly excluded; and on the other, a Conqueror (commanded, at leaſt) over awed the generality to give him their Suffrages.

But his Conqueſts and Reign being concluded by that Conqueror of all Mortals, *Death*, we ſhall again find the right Heir put from the poſſeſſion of the *Crown* by the ſame high hand which had ſettled it before upon King *Canute*, when the Iſſue of King *Edmund Ironſide*, the true and lawful Heirs of the Kingdom (who had been, as I have already mention'd) conveyed out of this Nation) and that of *Ethelred*, and Queen *Emma* his ſecond Wife, and *Hardicanute* were all ſet aſide, through the prevailing power of *Harold* the elder Son of the laſt King, by [a] the Daughter of one Earl *Elfelm*, ſaith *W.* of *Malmesbury*, altho' according to *Florentius* [b] of *Worceſter* he was, in the opinion of *ſome*, (tho' not of the Hiſtorian himſelf) the Son of neither, but the Off-ſpring of a certain Shoomaker, whatever he was, whether the ſon of a ſhoomaker, or (which I rather believe) the Son of *Canute*; 'tis certain he was prefer'd to all thoſe Competitors, chiefly by the means of the *Danes*, whoſe Swords were the beſt Orators to perſwade (or rather to compel) the Nation in that juncture to elect him; To effect which, the Citizens

[a] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 12. p. 76. Anno dominicæ incarnationis milleſimo tricesimo ſexto Haroldus, quem fama filium Cnutonis ex filiâ Elfelmi Comitis loquebatur, regnavit, &c.

[b] Flor. Wigor. Chronic. p. 622. Haroldus verò dixit, ſe filium eſſe Canuti regis & Northamtunenſis Algivæ, licèt id verum eſſet minimè, dicunt enim nonnulli filium cujuſdam ſutoris illum fuiſſe —— Nos verò quia res in dubio agitur, de neutrorum genitur â, (*Swain's* & *Harold's*) quid certi ſcitimus definire.

of

of *London* then almoſt degenerated (ſaith [c] *W.* of *Malmesbury*) into *Barbarians*, by converſing ſo long with them, were not a little aſſiſtant. But in the acceſſion of this Prince to the Throne, as well as in that of his younger Brother, the *Hiſtorians* do mightily differ. I ſhall therefore give the Reader their various ſentiments, and in the order of time wherein they *were* written, and let him determine which is in the right.

[c] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 12. p. 76. Haroldus (ut ſuprà) regnavit annis quatuor & totidem menſibus. Elegêrunt eum Dani & Londoniæ cives, qui jam pene in Barbarorum mores propter frequentem conviƈtum tranſiverant.

To begin then, *Florentius* [d] tells us, That this *Harold*, whom he ſtiles K. of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, was choſen King by the Princes and all the People. And he ſeems to give us his [e] reaſon why that was effected, becauſe he ſays, that ſeveral Nobles, and eſpecially (as it was before ſaid) Earl *Godwin* himſelf (a man then of great intereſt) were more devoted (tho' that he judges unjuſt) to *Harold*, than to *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of *Ethelred* by Q. *Emma*. Since they took it ill out, that thoſe two Princes came over out of *Normandy* (where they had long remained with their Uncle *Richard*) attended with a great number of *Norman Souldiers*, to viſit their Mother at *Wincheſter*. *W.* of *Malmesbury* gives us a quite different account of the matter, [f] ſaying indeed, That the *Danes* and Citizens of *London* (too near a kin to them then in point of Manners) elected him for their King: But he withal adds, That the other *Engliſh* reſiſted this long, being more deſirous to have one of King *Ethelred*'s Sons, (for the poor Children of his eldeſt ſon *Edmund*, tho' the true *Heirs*, were never thought on) who were then in

[d] Flor. Wigor. Chron. p. 622. Haroldus rex Merciorum & Northimbrorum, ut per totam regnaret Angliam (à principibus & omni populo) rex eligitur.

[e] Id. ibid. Innocentes Clitones Alfredus & Edwardus, Æthelredi quondam regis Anglorum filii de Normanniâ (ubi cum avunculo ſuo Richardo manſerant tempore longo) multis Normannicis militibus ſecum aſſumptis, in Angliam paucis tranſvecti navibus, ad ſuæ matris colloquium (quæ morabatur Wintoniæ) venêrunt. Quod indignè gravitérq; ferebant potentes nonnulli, quia (licèt injuſtum eſſet) Haroldo multo devotiores extitêre quàm illi, maximè (ut fertur) Comes Godwinus.

[f] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 76. Angli diu obſtiterunt — Godwinus Comes reſiſtentes umbone nominis ſui aliquandiu diſpulit; ſed tandem vi & numero impar ceſſit violentiæ.

Nor-

Normandy or *Hardecanute*, that King's Son by Q. *Emma*, who was then in *Denmark*, to be their King; among whom Earl *Godwin* long oppoſed *Harold*'s election, propp'd up therein by the greatneſs of his name; but he (as well as the reſt) was forced to ſubmit to power and number, and *Harold* thereby gained his point. *Simeon* of *Durham* varies yet further, for [g] he, and his [h] Imitator *Roger Hoveden* affirm, That King *Canute*, before his death, made or placed his Son *Hardecanute* King of the *Danes*, and appointed *Harold* to be King of this Nation. Again, *Henry* of *Huntington* [i] tells us, That *Harold* was elected King of this Country in a great *Convention* at *Oxford*, where Earl *Leofrick*, and all the Grandees on the North ſide of *Thames*, together with the *Londoners*, choſe *Harold* to keep the Kingdom for his Brother *Hardicanute*, then abſent in *Denmark*; but Earl *Godwin* (Father of that *Harold* who ſucceeded *Edward* the Confeſſor) and the *Weſt-Saxon Nobility* oppoſed this, but in vain. And this alſo was agreed to, That Q. *Emma*, *Hardicanute*'s Mother, with the Family of the deceaſed King, ſhould preſerve *Weſt-Saxe* in her ſon's behalf, and Earl *Godwin* was to be their General.

[g] Simeon Dunelm Hiſtor. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col. 179. Canutus rex Anglorum ante ſuum obitum ---ſuper Danos verò Hardecnutum ſuum & Emmæ reginæ filium regem leccavit. Haroldum verò filium ſuum ex Hamtunenſi Elgivâ procreatum regem Anglorum conſtituit.

[h] Rog. Hoved. Annal. par. prim. p. 437.

Canutus rex Anglorum ante ſuum obitum --- ſuper Danos verò Hardecnutum &c. *as in* Simon Dunelmen.

[i] Henric. Hunting. lib. 6. p. 364. Haraldus filius Cnut regis & Ailivæ filiæ Alfelmi ducis electus eſt in regem. Fuit namq; placitum magnum apud Oxenford; ubi Leofricus Conſul, & omnes principes ex Boreali parte Tameſis cum Londonienſibus elegèrunt Haraldum, ut conſervaret regnum fratri ſuo Hardecnut, qui erat in Dacia. Godwinus verò Conſul pater Haroldi poſtea regis, & principes Weſt-Sexe cœpèrunt contradicere, ſed non profuit --- Conſilium ergo inierunt, quod Emma regina cum regis defuncti familiâ conſervaret Weſt-Sexe apud Winceſtre in opus filii ſui: Godwinus vero Conſul Dux eis eſſet in re militari.

I cannot here forbear to ſhew my diſlike of this Relation, as incoherent in it ſelf; however, as diſagreeable to ſence and reaſon, *viz.* That *Harold* ſhould be choſen King to preſerve the Kingdom to his younger Brother, and yet his Stepmother, Q. *Emma*, to have

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Weſt-Sax aſſigned her for the ſame purpoſe: or, on the other ſide, that an elder Brother, and deſigned for the Engliſh Crown (as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Roger Hoveden* affirm) ſhould meet with ſo great an oppoſition from Q. *Emma*'s party, and that too, when her ſon, who was to be King of *Denmark*, was abſent there, and whoſe abſence [k] and long ſtay (as he there adds) was the occaſion of his rejection here, after he had been deſired before to come over hither.

[k] Sim Dunelm. de geſt. reg. Anglorum, col. 179.—Hardecanutus verò quia in Danemarciâ moras innexuit, & ad Angliam, ut rogabatur, venire diſtulit, penitus abjicitur.

To conclude this point, I ſhall bring up the firſt evidence, in point of time, laſt; for I forgot to mention the Narrative which *Ingulphus*, the moſt ancient [l] Hiſtorian of them all, who treat on this ſubject, gives us hereof; and he tells us, That [m] *Harold* and *Hardecanute*, the two Sons of King *Canute*, contending about the *Kingdom*, thereby went near to kindle a War in it; for the *Daniſh Londoners* choſe *Harold* the Son of *Elfgive* of *Northampton* (but only ſo by ſlander) the fictitious Iſſue of King *Canute* for their Soveraign: But the Engliſh, with the whole Land beſide (as he expreſſes it) choſe (he ſhould have ſaid, would have choſen) either *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, or at leaſt *Hardecanute* the Son of King *Canute*; ſo mightily do the Hiſtorians of elder times claſh in their accounts of the Ages preceding theirs: and ſo little was either the true hereditary Succeſſion of the Crown minded, or the laſt Wills and Teſtaments of the foregoing Kings, (upon which ſome have laid ſo much ſtreſs) valued in thoſe times of confuſion and violence: For

[l] *Who was Secretary to* William *the Conqueror.* Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 73. Ecce inclytus nunc Rex noſter Angliæ, tunc adhuc Comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus —Londonias adventabat—factus ibidem ſcriba ejus &c.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 61. Cujus (*i. e.* Canuti) duo filii Haroldus & Hardecnutus tum de regno diſceptantes, videbantur bellum maximè parturire. Nam & Dani Londonienſes Haroldum filium Elfgivæ Northamptoniæ ſed diffamatum; fictum filium Regis Cnuti; Angli verò cum totâ cæterâ terrâ potiùs Edwardum filium Regis Ethelredi, ſeu ſaltem Cnuti Regis filium Hardecnutum ex Emmâ R. g. nâ genitum eligebant.

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however it was managed, it cannot be denied, but that the right Heir was excluded in the Succeſſion of this *Harold*; as he was alſo in that of *Hardicanute*, when *Harold* gave way to the Fates; the Sons of *Ethelred* (and thoſe of *Edmund Ironſide*, being Exiles, were not ſo much as thought on then in point of Succeſſion) being ſet at nought, more upon the account of their Father's ſlothfulneſs (then [a] freſh in the Engliſhmens minds) than that of the Daniſh Power; ſo that *Hardicanute* was made King by almoſt the univerſal conſent both of the *Engliſh* and the *Danes*, as ſaith *W.* of *Malmesbury*. And[b] *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, and [p] *Sim.* of *Durham* tell us, That the chief men of almoſt the whole Nation had conceived ſo great an opinion of him, that they ſent Embaſſadors to him to entreat him to come and undertake the Government, and that accordingly at his coming he was received with an univerſal Joy, and anon placed in the Throne. And [q] *Henry* Archdeacon of *Huntington* aſſures us, That he was choſen King both by the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. And this election of him was furthered through the univerſal opinion of his Virtue; in which he groſly deceived them all, his following Reign being an abſolute contradiction thereto. But his Debaucheries having haſtened his Death, a period was thereby put to the Daniſh Tyranny in this Nation, and then it was [r] publickly decreed, That all the *Danes* ſhould be expelled the Kingdom; yet the true Heir, *viz. Edward* the elder Son of the famous *Ironſide*, was again neglected, and (his half Uncle) *Edward*, ſirnamed the Confeſſor, advanced to the Regal Dignity.

[a] W. Malmesb. de geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 76. Nam filii Ethelredi jam ferè omnibus deſpectui erant, magis propter paternæ ſocordiæ memoriam, quàm propter Danorum potentiam.

[b] Flor Wigorn. Chronic p. 623 Haraldus, rex Anglorum, obiit——. Quo ſepulto, proceres ſerme totius Angliæ, legatos ad Hardecanutum——ubi cum matre ſuâ morabatur, mittentes, & ſe benefacere putantes, rogavêrunt illum ut Angliam veniret; & ſceptra regni ſuſciperet. Qui——gaudenter ab omnibus ſuſcipitur, regnique ſolio mox ſublimatur.

[p] Sim. Dunel. Hiſt. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col. 180. Haroldus rex Anglorum obiit &c. *in the ſame words with* Florentius, *ſave that he hath* Haroldus, *and* ſullimatur; *for* Haraldus, *and* ſublimatur.

[q] Henr. Huntingd. Hiſt. lib. 6. p. 365. Hardecnut filius regis Cnut & Emmæ reginæ, veniens à Daciâ apud Sandwic illico ſuſceptus eſt, & electus in regem ſimul ab Anglis & Dacis.

[r] Chronicon Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jornallenſis col. 934. Proceres igitur Anglorum, jam Dacorum dominio liberati —— mortuo Hardecnouto, omnes Danos à regno expulerant, eos pro perpetuo relegantes.

I need not here to touch upon that fine Monkiſh Dream of *Ailred* * Abbot of *Rival* (already mentioned) which would ſhew us the election of *Edward* the Confeſſor, when in his Mother's Womb, and which I call a Dream, becauſe I find nothing like it in any of the old *Hiſtorians*, (three of which are more ancient than himſelf) *viz.* in *Ingulphus*, *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, *W.* of *Malmesbury*, *Sim.* of *Durham*, or *Henry* of *Huntington*: and if it had been true, that Election had been vacated by the interpoſition of *Edmund Ironſide*, and the Succeſſion of three Daniſh Kings.

* See pag. 18.

To omit then this Narrative which (to me at leaſt) ſeems too trivial a Plea for any to inſiſt upon, *Edward*, Son to King *Ethelred* by his Wife Queen *Emma* (which hath been already mentioned) was, as *Ingulphus* [s] (who was then a Youth [t], and viſited his Father at the Court) informs us, Choſen King by all: But moſt eſpecially through the Exhortation of Earl *Godwin*, whoſe Daughter that King afterwards eſpouſed; and out of the Hope and Proſpect of which Match that great but treacherous *Earl* ſtickled ſo much for *Edward*'s Election. I called that Earl Treacherous [v], becauſe he was the unhappy Inſtrument of *Alfred* (that King's Brother) loſing his Eyes [x]; and others ſay, of loſing his Life. And that he was really indebted in part for his Elevation to the ſupreme Dignity, to Earl *Godwin* and *Livingus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, is the Opinion [y] of *Florentius* too, who is the next Hiſtorian to *Ingulphus*, in point

[s] Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 62. Poſt ejus obitum omnium electione in Edwardum concordatur, maximè cohortante Godwino Comite, &c.

[t] Id. ibid cum patrem meum in Regis curiâ morantem adhuc puer inviſerem &c.

[v] Henr. Hunt. Hiſt. l. 6. p. 369 — Godwinus verò cum eſſet Conſul fortiſſimus & proditor ſæviſſimus, præcogitavit ſe Edwardo fratri minori & ſimpliciori poſſe dare filiam ſuam in reginam. Hunc verò Alfredum, quia primogenitus erat, & magnæ probitatis, nullo modo filiam ſuam dignaturam prævidebat.

[x] Id. ibid. — Alfredum verò captum duxêrunt in Ely, & oculos ejus eruêrunt, & mortuus eſt. *And* Flor. Wigor. Chronic. p. 623. — pro nece ſui fratris Alfredi, adverſus Godwinum Comitem & Wigornenſem Epiſcopum ——— Livingum exarſit ira magna.

[y] Flor. Wigor. Chron. p. 624. ——— Cujus frater Edwardus annitentibus maximè Comite Godwino, & Wigornenſi præſule Livingo, Lundoniæ levatur in regem.

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of Time. Indeed *William* Monk of [a] *Malmesbury* tells us only, That he undertook the Kingdom. And yet, that the Reader may be ascertained, That King *Edward* the Confessor was not the true Heir of the Crown by an hereditary Succession, we are given to understand by the [a] same Author, That when this King saw old Age approach him apace, he sent to the King of *Hungary*, That he should send him his Brother *Edmund*'s Son called *Edward*, together with his Family; for they had been kindly entertained by that King, after their Expulsion hence by *Canute*; and [b] (as another Historian informs us) The *Hungarian* King had bestowed his Niece *Agatha*, Daughter to his Brother *Henry* the Emperour of the *Romans*, (or rather of *Germany*) on that *Edward* called the *Outlaw*, as being the true Heir of the English Crown. Pursuant to this Invitation of our *Edward* the Confessor, his Nephew *Edward* the Outlaw and his Family returns, [c] and the King declared, That either he (*i. e. Edward* the Outlaw) or his Sons should succeed to the hereditary Kingdom of *England*. Which are the express Words of *William* Monk of *Malmesbury*. And who in that same place tels us, that he saw the Sons of Earl *Godwin* (whom he indeed hated, though he was his Father-in-law) grow strong, and that himself had no Children ——— Which Act of King *Edward* cannot (in my Opinion) be judged, either as done in Confidence of his Title by his Election to the Crown, or out of any Fear of a Competitor on the other Hand, as Persons of quite different Sentiments would strain it.

[a] W. Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 13. p. 79. Sanctus Edwardus filius Ethelredi suscepit regnum.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 93. Rex Edwardus pronus in senium quòd ipse non susceperat liberos, & Godwini videret invalescere filios, misit ad Regem Hunnorum ut filium Edmundi Edwardum cum omni familiâ suâ mitteret. Futurum, ait, ut aut ille aut filii sui succedant regno hæreditario Angliæ: orbitatem suam cognatorum suffragio sustentari debere.

[b] Johan. Bromton Chronic. col. 907. —— Cámque rex Hungariæ infantes vidisset, &c. —— Edwardo —— qui in Chronicis dictus est Edwardus relegatus, Agatham filiam Germani sui Henrici Imperatoris Romani, cunquam vero Angliæ hæredi, matrimonio copulavit.

[c] Futurum, ait, ut aut ille aut filii sui succedant, &c. *Quæ, in this page.*

Moreover this Narrative doth not altogether agree with that of *Ingulphus*, who lived at that time. Unleſs the Reader will look upon him, although an Engliſhman, byaſs'd in Favour of *William* Duke of *Normandy* (afterwards King of *England* by the name of the Conqueror) whoſe Secretary he ſometimes was; for he ſays, [d] That King *Edward* the Confeſſor, (whom [e] he allows to have much cheriſhed and advanced the *Normans*, in whoſe Country he had been brought up) ſeeing *Edgar* the Son of *Edward* (the Outlaw, lately deceaſed) not fit for Government, either as to Body or Courage; and withal, That the numerous wicked Family of Earl *Godwin* did daily encreaſe, he apply'd himſelf to his Kinſman, *William* Duke of *Normandy*; and decreed, That he ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom of *England*.

[d] Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 68. Rex Edwardus ſenio jam gravatus, cernens Clitonis Edwardi nuper defuncti filium Edgarum regio ſolio minùs idoneum tam corde quàm corpore, Godwinique Comitis multam malamque ſobolem quotidie ſuper terram creſcere, ad cognatum ſuum Wilhelmum Comitem Normanniæ animum appoſuit, & eum ſibi ſuccedere in regnum Angliæ voce ſtabili ſancivit.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 62. Rex autem Edwardus natus in Angliâ, ſed nutritus in Normanniâ, ——— attrahens de Normanniâ plurimos, quos variis dignitatibus promotos in immenſum exaltabat.

Here was an Excluſion of the right Heir with a Witneſs! a King, who had no Title to the Crown by a lineal Deſcent, to give it away after his Death, from one who had the beſt Title, and to one who was illegitimate, and conſequently in ſtrictneſs capable of none but what his long Sword could make him (as it did afterwards) to enact ſuch a Decree! Which Grant or Will of his (if allowed for Good) will certainly deſtroy the Foundation of all Monarchy, whether Hereditary or Elective.

But, whether this which *Ingulphus* relates was in every Circumſtance true or no, this however cannot reaſonably be denied, That K. *Edward*'s Fears of the potent Family of Earl *Godwin* were not altogether groundleſs;

leſs; for upon *Edward*'s Death, *Edgar*, the right Heir of the Crown, was again excluded from it, and *Harald*, the Son of the laſt-mentioned Earl *Godwin*, (a very valiant Man, but who had not the leaſt Shadow of a Title to the Royal Dignity) thruſt himſelf into the Throne, as [c] *Ingulphus* ſaith, into the Regal Throne, being ſolemnly crowned by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 68. In craſtino verò regii funeris, Comes Haroldus contra ſuum ſtatum & juſjurandum contemptor præſticæ fidei, ac nequiter oblitus ſui Sacramenti, throno Regio ſe intruſit, per Archiepiſcopum Eboracæ Aldredum ſolennitèr coronatus, & regnavit menſibus novem.

This Teſtimony of *Ingulphus*, who was then alive, ought to be the ſooner believed, if he had not been (as I take it) at that very juncture Secretrary to *Harald*'s Competitor, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and upon whoſe account he might be a little byaſſed againſt *Harold*, who had ſworn to aſſiſt Duke *William* (in K. *Edward*'s Life [f] time) to gain this Crown, when his Couſin *Edward* dyed.

[f] Mat. Weſtmonaſt. flores hiſtor. p. 218. Tunc Haraldus, ut apud Ducem Gulielmum uberiorem gratiam inveniret, caſtellum Doroberniæ, quod ad jus ſuum ſpectabat, & poſt mortem regis Eadwardi regnum Angliæ ſacramento firmavit.

We have a quite different account of *Harold*'s acceſſion to this Throne from *Florentius*, [g] who plainly tells us, That upon King *Edward*'s Interment, *Harold* the Viceroy, Son of Duke *Godwin*, whom the King had elected for his Succeſſor, before his Death, was choſen to the Royal Dignity by the Grandees of the whole Kingdom; and was accordingly conſecrated thereto by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*. *William* of *Malmesbury*, on the other hand (though junior to *Florentius*) ſeems to ſide in his Narrative with that

[g] Florenc. Wigor. Chronic. p. 633. Quo (i. e. Edwardo) tumulato, ſubregulus Haraldus, Godwini Ducis filius, quem rex ante ſuam deceſſionem regni ſucceſſorem elegerat, à totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus, die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracenſi Archiepiſcopo in regem eſt honorificè conſecratus.

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of *Ingulphus*: [h] telling us, That *Harold* took the Diadem by Force: Although (he adds) That the *Engliſh* affirm, That it was granted to *Harold* by the King: I ſuppoſe he means, by *Edward* the Confeſſor, which notwithſtanding that Hiſtorian ſeems not to believe; but judges it urged by them in their own Excuſe. And grant it had been true, *Edward* the Confeſſor (to whoſe Will all the Competitors pretended) had no Right to transfer the Crown of himſelf, as hath been once already affirmed. And that too, when *Edgar Adelyn* the true Heir of the Crown, and for whom [i] ſome endeavoured to gain the Kingdom, as to whom it was due by hereditary Right, was alive—To proceed, with *William* of *Malmesbury* doth *Henry* of *Huntington* [k] ſeem to vote; for he ſaith, That ſome of the *Engliſh* endeavouring to advance to the Kingdom *Edgar Adeling*; *Harold* truſting in his Strength and Kindred, invaded the Regal Diadem. Indeed [l] *Simeon* of *Durham* and his [m] imitator *Roger Hoveden* do ſide with *Florentius*, in affirming, That *Harold* was deſigned King by *Edward*'s Will, and choſen for ſuch by the Nobility of the whole Kingdom. To turn the Tables again, *John Bromton*, Abbot [n] of *Joreval* aſſures us, on the other ſide, That upon the Death of King *Edward* (the Confeſſor) ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility attempted to make *Edgar* King. But *Harold* Son of Earl *Godwin*,

[h] Will. Malmesb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 13. p. 93. — Recenti adhuc regalis funere luctu, Haroldus ipſo Theophaniæ die exortâ à principibus (*I think, it ſhould be read* exortâ) fide arripuit diadema, quamvis Angli dicant à Rege conceſſum: Quod tamen magis benevolentiâ, quàm judicio allegari exiſtimo, ut illi hæreditatem, &c.

[i] Ethelred. Abbas Rievallis de genealog. reg. Angl. col. 366. — Quidam Edgarum Edeling, cui regnum jure hæreditario debebatur, regem conſtituere moliuntur.

[k] Henric. Huntingd hiſtor. lib. 6. p. 367. — In vigiliâ Epiphaniæ rex Edwardus mundo deceſſiſſet — Quidam Anglorum Eadgar Adeling promovere volebant in regem. Haroldus verò viribus & genere fretus regni diadema invaſit.

[l] Simeon. Dunelm. Hiſtor. de geſt Reg. Angl. col. 193. Anno MLXVI. Anglorum decus pacificus rex Edwardus Ethelredi regis filius — mortem obiit — Quo tumulato, ſubregulus Haroldus, &c. *as it is above pag.* 29. *n. from* Florencius.

[m] Rog. Hoved. Annal. par. prior p. 447. — Quo tumulato, ſubregulus Haroldus, &c. *in the ſame Words that it is in* Florencius *and* Simeon.

[n] Joham. Bromton Chronic. col. 957. & 958. — Sancto Edwardo Rege & Confeſſore mortuo, quidam Anglorum magnates Edgarum Adelyngc filium Edwardi filii Regis Edmundi Ironſide in regem promovere molieb antur — Haraldus Comes filius Godwini viribus & genere fretus — regni diadema ſiniſtro omine illico invaſit — Qui quidem Haraldus, ut quidam tradunt, ſeipſum apud Weſtmonaſterium coronavit.

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being confident in his own Strength and Kindred, ſuddainly, in an unlucky Hour, invaded the Regal Diadem, and, as ſome ſay, crowned himſelf at *Weſtminſter*. All which Allegations however different in other Reſpects, do all unite and agree in this, That by *Harold*'s acceſſion to the Crown, the hereditary Succeſſion thereto ſeems to have been then laid aſide by the major part of the Nation °. And indeed *Harold* was the only perſon, who from King *Egbert*'s Time was poſſeſſor of the *Engliſh* Throne, without being deſcended of the Royal Blood of *Cerdic*, ᵖ excepting the three *Daniſh* Princes.—For in all other deviations from the direct Line, ſtill the Regal Family was had in conſideration, ſo that either one or other was ſelected out of it to ſit upon the Throne of his illuſtrious Anceſtors.

° *Which, notwithſtanding, if we may believe* William *of* Malmesb. (de Wil. 1°. l. 3. p. 99.) *was long in ſuſpence what to do; whether to ſubmit themſelves to* Harold, William *or* Edgar.

Rex Edwardus fato functus fuerat, Anglia dubio favore nutabat, cui ſe reſtori committeret incerta, an Haroldo, an Willielmo, an Edgaro.

ᵖ Matthæi Weſtmonaſt. flores Hiſtoriarum p. 220. Pacificus igitur rex Eadwardus Anglorum decus, regis Æthelredi filius — pro regno temporali commutavit æternum.—In hoc denique rege linea regum Angliæ defecit, quæ à Cerdico primo Weſt-Saxonum rege ex Anglis, quingentis & ſeptuaginta uno annis, non legitur interrupta, præter perpaucos Danos, qui peccatis exigentibus gentis Anglorum, aliquandiu regnavêrunt.

And even in this caſe of *Harold*, if we liſten to the Diſcourſes made by the two ancient Hiſtorians, *Ingulphus* and *W.* of *Malmesbury*, *Harold* attained not to that high Dignity by Election, but by Force; and conſequently cannot in a ſtrict Senſe be produced as an Example of the former.

His Overthrow by Duke *William* (made more eaſie by the embaraſments this Nation had undergone, through the late Invaſion thereof by the ᶠ *Norwegians*, aſſiſted therein by *Harold*'s Brother *Toſto*) and his conſequent Death made a ſad and ſtrange Change in the Scene of the Engliſh Affairs; for the Engliſh in that fatal Battle (where their King *Harold* and the Strength and

ᶠ Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 69. —— Haroldus rex Norwegiæ, cui prædictus Toſtius ſe conjunxerat, &c.

and Flower of the Nation fell by the Hand of *William* and his *Normans*) received ſo great a Defeat, and were thereby ſo much weakned, that though after that great Slaughter [g], ſome choſe *Edgar* for their King, whom *Florentius* [h] names in a particular manner, *viz.* the Earls *Edwin* and *Marcar* (whoſe Siſter the laſt King *Harald* had married) *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Citizens of *London*: I ſay, though all theſe, upon the firſt News of the great Defeat (from which the two Earls had withdrawn themſelves before, with their Dependents) came to *London*, and ſeemed willing to advance (the late mentioned) *Edgar* to the Throne, and promiſed to fight for him; yet the two Earls withdrawing their Aſſiſtance from thoſe who were ready to engage in that Quarrel, and returning home with their Forces, that Deſign ſoon fell to the Ground. In the mean Time *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, juſtly from his Victory and enſuing Fortunes, ſtyled the *Conquerour* [i], went burning

[g] Wil. Malmesb. de geſt. reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 13. p. 93. Eadgaro, qui poſt occiſionem Haroldi à quibuſdam in regem electus eſt, & vario luſu fortunæ, nunc pene decrepitum diem ignobilis ruri agit.

[h] Flor. Wigor. Chron. c. p. 634. Cui vis (i. e. Haroldi) morte audità, comites Eadwinus & Marcarus (qui ſe cum ſuis certamini ſubtraxere, Lundoniam venere, & ſororem ſuam Algitham reginam ſumptam ad civitatem Legionum misêre. Aldredus autem Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopus, & iidem Comites cum civibus Londonienſibus, & Butſecarlis, Chironem Eadgarum, Eadmundum Ferrei lateris nepotem in regem levare voluêrunt, & cum eo ſe pugnam inituros promiſêrunt: ſed dum ad pugnam deſcendere multi ſe paravêrunt, Comites ſuum auxilium ab eis retraxerunt, & cum ſuo exercitu domum rediêrunt.

[i] *I do admire that the learned Sir* Hen Spelman, *in his* Gloſſarium Archaiologicum edit. Londini 1664. p. 145. *ſhould ſay*, Gul. I. Conqueſtor dicitur qui Angliam conquiſivit, i. acquiſivit, *purchaſed*, non quod ſubegit; *when* John Brompton *Abbot of* Joreval *tells us, that one ſung thus of the Conquerror*,

Dux Normannorum Willelmus vi validorum
Rex eſt Anglorum, bello conqueſtor eorum.

In Chronic. Joh. Bromton col. 962. *Where* William *is ſaid to be the King of the ſtout Engliſh by Force, and Conquerour of them in War; which is far different from a Purchaſer of the Nation; and conſequently very oppoſite to Sir* Henry Spelman's *Interpretation.*

and

and destroying all before him; [k] (as appears from *Florentius* of *Worcester*) till *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Wulstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Edgar Adeling*, the Earls *Edwin* and *Marcar*, and the chief of the *Londoners*, with several others, met and submitted themselves to him, and swore him Allegiance. Notwithstanding which, he permitted for a while his Army to burn Towns and commit Rapines, even though he had before made a Covenant with them.

[k] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 634, & 635. Interea Comes Gulielmus Suth-Saxoniam, Cantium, Suthamptunensem provinciam, Suthregiam, Middle-Saxoniam, Herefordensem provinciam devastabat, & villas cremare, hominesque interficere non cessabat, donec ad villam quæ Beorcham nominatur veniret. Ubi Alredus Archiepiscopus, Wulstanus Wigornensis Episcopus, Clito Eadgarus, Comites Eadwinus & Marcarus, & de Londonia quique nobiliores, cum multis aliis ad eum venerunt, & datis obsidibus illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemque juraverunt. Cum quibus & ipse fœdus pepigit, & nihilominus exercitui suo villas cremare & rapinas agere permisit.

By this fatal Tragedy, the Royal Blood of the *Saxons* was not only rejected from then reigning over this Nation, but all things (as some Men hold) were turned topsie turvie, and the Succession fixed upon another Basis, by that *William*, who [l] being illegitimate, had no true Right either to *England* or *Normandy*, we will then take a Stand, and view this (pretended) new Fabric.

[l] Guliel. Neubrigensis Rerum Anglicarum l. 1. c. 1. p. 1. Antverpiæ 1567. Guillielmus cognomento Nothus Dux Normannorum Haraldo Regi Anglorum bellum intulit, &c. Et id. ibid. p. 3. dormivit ergo cum patribus suis singulare Normannorum decus, &c.

This conquering Prince, who (as I said) had no Right to the Crown of *England*, and which by [m]

[m] Wil. Malmesb. de Will. 1. l. 1. p. 99. Contra ille quæ dixi de puellæ nuptiis referens, de regno addebat (i. e. Harold) præsumptuosum fuisse: Quod absque genera i senatus & populi conventu, & edicto; alienum illi hæreditatem juraverit. Proinde stultum sacramentum frangendum —— Præterea iniquum postulat, (*this was Harold's answer to Duke* William's *Embassy to him about the Kingdom.*) ut imperio decedat, quod tanto favore civium regendum susceperit: hoc nec provincialibus gratum nec militibus tutum *In this* William *of* Malmesbury *seems to contradict what he had said before concerning* Harold's *accession to the English Throne, see* [h] *p.* 30. *which is no small Fault in an Historian, who pretends so much to accuracy as he did.* Id. ibid. p. 173. Ego enim (*saith he*) veram legem secutus historiæ, nihil ut quam posui, nisi quod à fidelibus relatoribus, vel scriptoribus ad didici.

the Confeſſion even of his Adverſary *Harold*, could not be alienated without a general Convention and Sanction of the Senate (or Parliament) and People thereof, having at *London* been crowned by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*; but not before he had ſolemnly promiſed and ſworn[n] (according to *Florentius Wigornienſis*'s Account) at the Altar of S. *Peter* (as that Archbiſhop required of him) and that before the Clergy and People, That he would defend the Holy Church of God and all its Governours; that he would juſtly rule all the People committed (or ſubject) to his Charge, That he would make and keep good Laws, ſtrictly forbidding all Rapines and unjuſt Judgments: I ſay, this Prince, notwithſtanding this Coronation-Oath, which he had ſo ſolemnly taken, acted and obſerved nothing leſs than the Performance thereof.

[n] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 634. Ab Aldredo Eboracenſium archiepiſcopo in Weſtmonaſterio conſecratus eſt honorificè, prius (ut idem archipræſul ab eo exigebat) ante altare ſancti Petri Apoſtoli, coram clero & populo jurejurando promittens, ſe velle ſanctas Dei Eccleſias ac rectores illarum defendere, necnon & cunctum populum ſibi ſubjectum juſtè & regali providentiâ regere, rectam legem ſtatuere & tenere, rapinas injuſtaque judicia penitus interdicere.

For, as his [o] *Normans*, if we may believe his own Secretary *Ingulphus*, changed ſeveral Cuſtoms in this nation; ſo he, who had, by the Confeſſion [p] of the ſame *Ingulphus*, proclaimed, That the (excellent) Laws of King *Edward* (the Confeſſor) ſhould not only be held authentick, but that they ſhould for ever be inviolably kept through the whole Kingdom

[o] Ingulph. Hiſtor. p. 70. Et non tantum hunc morem, ſed alias etiam conſuetudines immutabant, &c.

[p] Id. ibid. p. 88. Attuli eadem vice mecum de Lundoniis in meum monaſterium leges æquiſſimi regis Edwardi, quas Dominus meus inclytus rex Wilhelmus authenticas, & perpetuas per regnum Angliæ inviolabiliter tenendas ſub pœnis graviſſimis proclamârat, & ſuis Juſtitiariis commendârat eodem idiomate, quo editæ ſunt, ne per ignorantiam contingat, nos vel noſtros aliquando in noſtrum grave periculum contraire, & offendere auſu temerario regiam majeſtatem; ac in ejus cenſuras rigidiſſimas improvidum pedem ferre contentas ſæpius in eiſdem, &c. Vide Chronicon Lichfeldenſe, *as quoted by* Roger Twiſden, *printed at* Cambridge 1644. *p.* 158. Et Leges Gulielmi Regis, Cantabrigiæ 1644. p. 136, &c.

of

of *England*, under moſt ſevere Puniſhments: And therefore commended them to his Juſtices of the Peace in the ſame Language wherein they were originally written, leſt any ſhould otherwiſe offend through Ignorance, and thereby not only incur the Danger of a ſevere Puniſhment, but alſo be thereby obnoxious to the King's Diſpleaſure: This ſame King, I ſay, who had done all this, (notwithſtanding the Oaths which he took, and the Injunctions which he made) practiſed all manner of ſeverity againſt the *Engliſh*, as moſt of the ancient Hiſtorians do declare at large [q].

[q] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 635.

Poſt hæc Marleſuein & Goſpatric, & quoque Northumbrinæ gentis nobiliores regis auſteritatem devitantes & ne ſicut alii in cuſtodiam mitterentur formidantes, &c. Id. ibid. p. 136. Normannis Angliam vaſtantibus in Northumbriâ, & quibuſdam aliis Provinciis. Adeò fames prævaluit, ut homines quinam, caninam, cattinam, & carnem comederent humanam. —— Id. ibid. p. 641. Gulielmus Rex fecit deſcribi omnem Angliam, quantum terræ quiſque Baronum ſuorum poſſidebat, quot feudatos milites, quot carrucas, quot villanos, quot animalia, immò quantum vivæ pecuniæ quiſque poſſidebat in omni regno ſuo, à maximo uſque ad minimum, & quantum redditûs quæque poſſeſſio reddere poterat: & vexata eſt terra multis cladibus inde procedentibus. —— Ingulphi Hiſtor. p. 69, 70. Porrò contra victoriosiſſimum Willielmum novum regem plurimi Principes terræ aliquandiu reluctati, ſed poſteà fracti viribus ejus, & ſuperati tandem ſe Normannorum nutui ſubmiſerunt. *Which laſt Paragraph is indeed more capable of belief, than what he had ſaid of K. William's coming to the Crown* (ibid. *p.* 69.) *that he was* lætanter receptus, ovanterque rex conclamatus, *received and proclaimed King with very great joy.* Flor. Wigor. Chronic. p. 635. Anglis importabile tributum impoſuit. Id. ibid. p. 636. rex Gulielmus monaſteria totius Angliæ ſcrutari & pecuniam quam ditiores Angli propter illius auſteritatem & depopulationem in eis poſuerant, auferri & in ærarium ſuum juſſit deferri.

Why he was ſo kind [r] in preferring the *Normans*, and diſplacing (or diſarming) the *Engliſh*, proceeded both from his ill Title, ſo often hinted [s], being no better than a pretended Donation of the *Engliſh* Crown to him by *Edward* the Confeſſor (whoſe Kinſman he ſtyles himſelf in his Confirmation of that

[r] Id. ibid. p. 636. Abbates etiam aliqui ibi degradati ſunt, operam dante rege, ut quàm plures ex Anglis ſuo honore privarentur, in quorum locum ſuæ gentis perſonas ſubrogavit, ob confirmationem ſui (quod noviter acquiſierat) regni, &c.

[s] Hæ ſunt leges & conſuetudines quas Willielmus rex conceſſit univerſo populo Angliæ poſt ſubactam terram. Eædem ſunt quas Edwardus rex cognatus ejus obſervavit ante eum. Leges Guilielmi primi reg. Angl. Cantabrigiæ 1644. p. 159. *See alſo* Silas Taylor's *Hiſtory of Gavelkind*, London 1663. *c.* 4. *p.* 56, &c.

King's Laws) and the frequent Inſurrections of the *Engliſh*, who endeavoured thereby to free themſelves from that heavy Yoke of Oppreſſion under which they ſadly groaned: To ſuppreſs which Commotions he made uſe of his ſurly *Normans*, whom he alſo rewarded with the Spoils of the poor *Engliſh*, while our Nobility [t] were thrown into Priſon, our Biſhops and Abbots deprived of their Poſſeſſions. He took vaſt ſums of Silver and Gold from his moſt potent Subjects, and tired (them) all with building of Caſtles; nor was there any who could withſtand him: All which is affirmed by *Henry* of *Huntington*, who [v] then declares, That what he wrote, he had either ſeen them himſelf, or had received his Information from thoſe, who had been Spectators thereof.

[t] Hen. Huntingd. Hiſtor. lib. 6. Poſuerat namque Conſules & Principes in carcerem: Epiſcopos & Abbates (*agreable to what is produced before from* Florentius) poſſeſſionibus ſuis privaverat: fratri proprio non pepercerat: nec erat qui reſiſterat: auferebat quoque potentiſſimis etiam auri & argenti millia ad caſtella, ſolus omnes fatigabat ad conſtruenda.

[v] Id. ibid. l. 7. p. 372. Nunc autem de his quæ vel ipſi vidimus, vel ab iis qui viderant, audivimus, pertractandum eſt declaratumque conſtat.

Thus this King who had ſworn to keep the Laws, and to have thoſe of King *Edward* the Confeſſor inviolably obſerved [x], found out Pretences to extort a Treaſure from all Perſons, till death put a Period to his Cruelty and Exactions; leaving this Kingdom to his ſecond Son *William*, and bequeathing his Dutchy of *Normandy* (which was his ancient Patrimony) to his eldeſt ſon *Robert*, which was as great a piece of Injuſtice in a Father to the Son, as the excluſion of *Edgar Adelyng* and the whole Royal Line of the *Saxons* was before, when he uſurped the *Britiſh Throne*.

[x] Id. ibid. Quomodo dominus ſalutem & honorem genti Anglorum pro meritis abſtulerit, & jam populum non eſſe juſſerit. Patebit à modo quomodo & ipſos Normannos vindices quidem ſuos —— Id. ibid. l. 6. Rex adquiſitis magni theſauri copiis ſuper quoſcunque aliquam cauſam invenire potuerat ſive juſtè, ſive injuſtè, &c.

That

That his Son *William* was appointed King by his Father, before his Death, is owned by [y] *Ingulphus*, and by *Florentius* [z]; who both lived at that Time. The former of theſe will have *William Rufus* to be joyfully received by Archbiſhop *Lanfranc* and the reſt of the Grandees of the Nation, and ſo to be ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*. The latter tells a different Story, That (indeed) *Rufus* was choſen King by his Father, and accepted and conſecrated for ſuch by *Lanfranc*; [a] but that there was a great Contention among the Nobility about the Succeſſion to the Crown; part of the *Norman* Nobles ſiding with King *William*; but the greater part of them favoured *Robert*, and wiſhing that he might be their King, and that his Brother ſhould be ſlain, or be delivered up to him alive and ſo deprived of the Royalty. By which Expreſſion I gueſs, That *William* had been elected King before this Commotion was begun, and that too, becauſe that Hiſtorian places it in the Year after *William* aſſumed the Throne.

[y] Ingulphi Hiſtor p. 106. —Cum enim glorioſiſſimus rex Willelmus primus in fata ceſſiſſet, & Normanniam Roberto filio ſuo ſeniori dimiſiſſet, & Angliam Wilelmo filio ſuo juniori per teſtamentum legaſſet: Willelmus funere patris ſui in Anglium feſtinus ab Archiepiſcopo Lanfranco nutritore ſuo caterisque magnatibus totius regni lætis manibus exceptus eſt & ſolemniter apud Weſtmonaſterium coronatus. *With the Hiſtory of this* William *that of* Ingulphus *ends.*

[z] Florent. Wigor. Chronic. p. 642. filio ſuo Guilielmo regnum tradidit Angliæ.

[a] Id. ibid. à Lanfranco Doroberniæ Archiepiſcopo in regem conſecratus eſt —— Hoc anno inter primates Angliæ orta eſt diſcordia, pars etenim nobiliorum Normannorum favebat regi Gulielmo, ſed minima; pars verò altera favebat Roberto Comiti Normannorum, & maxima: cupiens hunc ſibi aſciſcere in regnum, fratrem verò aut fratri tradere vivum, aut regno privare peremptum.

With this Narrative doth *Simeon* of *Durham* [b] ſeem to accord: ſince he not only uſes the ſame Words with *Florentius*; but adds, That King *William*, hearing of this, convenes the *Engliſh*, ſhews them the Treachery of the *Normans*, begs their Aſſiſtance,

[b] Sim. Dunelm. Hiſtor. de geſt. Reg. Angl. col 214, 215. Hoc anno inter Primates Angliæ, &c. *as above in* Florentius, *and then proceeds* —— Hoc audito, Rex fecit convocare Anglos, & oſtendit eis traditionem Normannorum, & rogavit, ut ſibi auxilio eſſent, eo tenore, ut ſi in hâc neceſſitate ſibi fideles exiſterent, meliorem legem quam vellent eligere, eis concederet, & omnem injuſtum ſcortum interdixit, & conceſſit omnibus ſylvas ſuas & venationem, ſed quicquid promiſit parvo tempore cuſtodivit. Angli tamen fideliter eum juvabant.

and

and promiſes them, That if they would ſtick faithfully to him in this Exigent, they ſhould have better Laws than they would chooſe; they ſhould alſo have their Woods, and Liberty to hunt.

The *Engliſh* faithfully aſſiſted him; but he ſoon forgot whatſoever he had promiſed them. *William* of *Newburg* [c] declares, That ſeveral of the Nobility favouring Duke *Robert*'s Pretenſions, diſturbed the Tranquillity of *William*'s Reign at the firſt; judging *Robert*, who was the right Heir, was unjuſtly diſinherited, and *William* advanced into the Throne in a prepoſterous manner; becauſe he was to ſucceed upon the account of his Father's Will.

[c] Gul. Neubrig. Rerum Anglic. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 5. Robertus primogenitus in Ducatu Normanniæ & Guillelmus qui agnominatus eſt Rufus in regno Angliæ patri defuncto ſucceſsêre, ordine quidem præpoſtero, ſcilicet per ultimam patris (ut dictum eſt) voluntatem commutato. Unde factum eſt, ut quibuſdam Optimatum Roberto propenſiorem tanquam juſto hæredi & perperam exhæredato, favorem præſtantibus, ſtatumque regni turbantibus, &c.

But *Eadmerus*, [d] a Monk of *Canterbury*, who lived alſo at that Time, and who was ſenior to the laſt-mentioned Hiſtorian by near eighty Years, doth, agreeable to that Tumor, which was but too viſible in the Eccleſiaſticks of thoſe middle and ſuperſtitious Ages, and eſpecially then, when the *Hildebrandine* Faction began to prevail in the Church, informs us, that *Will. Rufus* deſired to worm his Brother *Robert* out of the Royalty; and there *Eadmerus* endeavours to make us believe, That he was wholly indebted to *Lanfranc*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for obtaining his ſaid Deſires, without whoſe Aſſent he could by no means have conſummated his Wiſhes; giving us not the leaſt account of his Father *William*'s laſt Will and Teſtament, by which the Crown had been bequeath'd

[d] Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ novorum ſive ſui ſæculi, Londini 1623. lib. 1. p. 13. defuncto itaq; Rege Willielmo, ſucceſſit ei in regnum Willielmus filius ejus, qui cum regni faſtigia fratri ſuo Roberto præripere geſtiret, & Lanfrancum, ſine cujus aſſenſu in regnum aſciſci nullatenus poterat, &c. —— Cœpit tam per ſe quàm per omnes quos poterat, fide ſacramentoque Lanfranco promittere, juſtitiam, æquitatem, & miſericordiam ſe per totum regnum, ſi rex foret, in omni negotio ſervaturum; pacem, libertatem, ſecuritatem Eccleſiarum contra omnes defenſurum, necne præceptis, atque conſiliis ejus per omnia & in omnibus obtemperaturum. Sed cum poſthàc in regno fuiſſet confirmatus, poſtpoſitâ pollicitatione ſuâ, &c.

to

to *Rufus*; but layes (as I have already hinted) all the Streſs upon *Lanfranc*'s Authority and Intereſt in the Nation. Purſuant to which he ſaies, That *William Rufus* did both by himſelf and by all others, whom he could induce to plead for him, faithfully promiſe, and even ſwear to *Lanfranc*, That if he could be received King, he would take Care that Juſtice, Equity and Mercy ſhould be obſerved through the whole Kingdom, as the Nature of the Buſineſs, (I ſuppoſe) would permit; That he would defend the Peace, Liberty and Security of the Church, againſt all Men; and (to compleat this Picture of implicite Obedience) that he would obey *Lanfranc*'s Precepts and Counſels in all things. The Hiſtorian here would have us to believe, That the Archbiſhop's Intereſt (to which this Monk was not a little devoted) was ſo great, as where ever it was engaged, it carried all without Reſiſtance: Since that alone could bring this *William* to the Throne, notwithſtanding that he had an elder Brother alive; and further, That that Prelate was promiſed to king it himſelf, becauſe his Injunctions and Advices were to be the King's Directions in his Government. But herein the Archbiſhop was out in his Meaſures, for, as *Eadmerus* there adds: When the King was confirmed in his Royalty, he valued not the Promiſe he had made, and conſequently the Archbiſhop's Counſels were no more regarded than ſuited with that Prince's Deſigns. However, or upon what Motives that King aſcended this Throne, (*Eadmerus* being ſingular in his account of it) 'tis certain his elder Brother was thereby ſet aſide; as he was again, when that *William*'s cruel Reign was concluded by a miſerable end, and his youngeſt Brother *Henry* filled the vacancy, and obtained the Regal Diadem of the Engliſh Nation, in prejudice of the ſaid *Robert*, who gave no

ſmall

ſmall diſturbance to him, as he had done to the other before: Concerning whoſe advancement *Florentius* of *Worceſter* [a] only ſaith, That *Henry* ſucceeded his Brother *William*, and was conſecrated King by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, and that he (among other things) abrogated all the evil Cuſtoms and unjuſt Exactions (with which this Kingdom of *England* had been unjuſtly oppreſſed) and reſtored the Law of *Edw.* the Confeſſor, with thoſe emendations which his Father had made therein before him. But *Eadmerus*, [b] the Diſciple of Archbiſhop *Anſelm* of *Canterbury*, and once Biſhop of St. *Andrew*'s in *Scotland*, [c] altho' he owns, That that which gave ſo great hopes to the Nation, upon K. *Henry*'s Acceſſion to the Crown after his Brother's death, was his promiſing on the day of his Conſecration, That he himſelf would obſerve good and holy Laws; that he would forbid and take away all Oppreſſions and Errors in Government, which during his Brother's Reign had been committed either in Eccleſiaſtical or Secular Concerns; all which he not only confirmed with an Oath, but ordered them to be divulged to the whole Nation under the broad Seal. Although, I ſay, *Eadmerus* mentions all theſe things, yet doth he ſeem to make *Anſelm* Succeſſor to *Lanfranc* in the Metropolitical See of *Canterbury*, a great Inſtrument in fixing the Crown upon *Henry*'s Head; ſince he adds, That *Anſelm*'s preſence at the

[a] Flor. Wigor. Chron. p. 650. Cui (*i. e. William* II.) ſucceſſit junior frater ejus Henricus, & mox —— à Mauricio Lundonienſi Epiſc. in regem eſt conſecratus. Qui conſecrationis ſuæ die S. Dei eccleſiam, quæ fratris ſui tempore vendita, & ad firmam erat poſita, liberam fecit, ac omnes malas conſuetudines & injuſtas exactiones (quibus regnum Angliæ injuſtè opprimebatur) abſtulit — Legem regis Eadwardi omnibus in commune reddidit, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater ſuus illam emendavit

Florentius *concludes his Hiſtory with that of* K. Henry I.

[b] Joannis Pitſæi Relationum Hiſtoricarum de Rebus Anglicis Tom. 1. Pariſiis 1619. p. 199. Eadmerus vel Edmerus —— Epiſcopus S. Andreæ in Scotiâ. Fuit S. Anſelmi Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopi primùm auditor & diſcipulus, deinde convictor & amicus, &c.

[c] Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ novor. lib. 3. p. 55. —— Spes inde maximè procedebat quod Henricus qui tunc noviter Fratri (*i. e.* Will. II.) defuncto in regnum ſucceſſerat, in ipſo ſuæ conſecrationis die bonas & ſanctas omni populo leges ſe ſervaturum; & omnes oppreſſiones & iniquitates quæ ſub Fratre ſuo emerſerunt in omni ſuâ dominatione, tam in Eccleſiis quam in ſæcularibus negotiis prohibiturum & ſubverſurum ſpoſponderat, & hæc omnia juris jurandi interjectione firmatâ, ſub monimento literarum ſigilli ſui teſtimonio roboraturum, per totum regnum divulgatum ici præceperat. Præſentia (ſc. Anſelmi) nihilominus communis omnium patris jam ipſi ſpei non parum roboris apud hominum metentes adjiciebat —— Eadmerus's *Hiſtory ends with that of* Henry I.

King's

King's Conſecration, who was the common Father of all, added not a little ſtrength to that hope which was conceived of *Henry*'s good Rule, in the minds of the People. As if the very appearance of that Archbiſhop with the new King, affected the Nation ſo much, as to hinder their murmuring at the excluſion of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, the true Heir of the Kingdom.

Indeed *W.* of *Malmesbury* [a] takes no notice of this particular, on which *Eadmerus* (I ſuppoſe, for his great Patron *Anſelm*'s honour) inſiſts ſo much. He tells us, That *Henry* was elected King, after the ſolemnities of K. *William* II's Funeral were over, but not without ſome previous Conteſts among the Nobility, before that Election was ſettled. *Simeon* of *Durham* [b] barely mentions his ſucceeding his Brother *William*: And ſo doth *Peter Bleſenſis*,* Archdeacon of *London* †, but with this addition; That his elder Brother *Robert*, at that very juncture, was in the *Holy Land* ſtoutly warring againſt the *Turks* and *Saracens*. *Henry* of *Huntington* [c] tells us, That *Henry* was choſen King; as indeed he could not be ſo by any other means, ſince his elder Brother *Robert* had certainly the Right to that Dignity by hereditary deſcent. To conclude this Hiſtorical Revolution, [d] *William* of *Newburg* only ſaith, *Henry* ſucceeded his Brother. But *Gervaſe* Monk of *Canterbury* uſes this expreſſion, [e] That he undertook the Government, being crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Maurice* Biſhop of *London*, (as

[a] W. Malmesb. l. 5. p. 156. Occiſo verò Rege Willelmo — poſt juſta funeri regio perſoluta, in regem electus eſt, (ſc. *M.* I) ali quantis tamen ante controverſiis inter proceres agitatis, &c.

[b] Sim. Dunelm Hiſtor. — de geſt. Reg. Anglor. col. 225. Cui (*i.e.* Will. II ſucceſſit jure frater ſuus Henricus, & *With whoſe Hiſtory that of* Simeon *ends too.*

* Petri Bleſenſis Continuatio ad Hiſtoriam Ingulphi Oxoniæ 1684. p. 111. Porrò ſucceſſit ei ad regnum frater ſuus junior Henricus pulcherrimus adoleſcens, & ex ſcientiâ literarum a bobus fratribus aſtutior ac acutior ad regnandum, ſeniore fratre ſuo Roberto hoc temporis momen in terrâ ſanctâ contra Turcos & Saracenos in Chriſtianorum exercitu ſtrenuiſſimè præliante.

† Gul. Cave Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus, Londini 1685. p. 226. —— poſteà Londinenſis Angliâ Archidiac. &c.

[c] Henr. Hunting. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 378. —— Henricus frater ejus junior ibidem in regem electus, *But that Hiſtorian alſo ſaith in the ſame place, That the Nobility of* England *were angry with the K* (i. e. Will. *II.*) *for his Brother* Robert's *ſake.* Id. ibid. commoti ſunt principes Angliæ c regem causâ fratris ſui Roberti advenientis cum exercitu, &c.

[d] Gul. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8. —— Regi Guil'elmo infeliciter mortuo, fr. ſuus Henricus ſucceſſit.

[e] Chronica Gervaſii Londini 1652. col. 1338. —— Suſcepit Henricus primus Monarchiam tius Angliæ, & coronatus eſt apud Weſtmonaſt. IV. non. Auguſti à Mauritio Londinienſi Epiſco quia eo tempore exulabat beatus Anſelmus Cantuar. Archiepiſc. ex perſecutione Willielmi Regis J

Florentius had said before) and then he adds, That *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was not there, being then in exile through the Persecution of K. *William* II. Which additional Account spoils (if true) the fine Scheme of *Eadmerus*, who would have *Anselm* so great an Instrument in fixing *Henry* upon the Throne: but whether *Eadmerus*, who was then living, or *Gervase*, ought to be herein believed, is left by me to the Reader's Judgment.

Upon the death of *Henry* I. (who survived his elder Brother *Robert*) his Daughter and only Heir *Mathildis* did not succeed him, but *Stephen*, younger Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Alice* Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, and consequently Nephew to the last King *Henry*, altho', [f] as *Henry* of *Huntington* (who lived at that time) saith, he had taken the Oath of Fidelity to the said *Matildis* or *Maud*, (in her Father's time) did, notwithstanding that, invade (as he terms it) the Regal Diadem. And *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the first that had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the abovesaid *Mathildis*, crowned him; and all the Bishops, as well as the Earls and Princes who had sworn to *Maud*, now gave their assent to *Stephen*, and did him homage: I say, to him who had no Right by hereditary descent, K. *Henry*'s Daughter being then alive, *William* of *Malmesbury*, who dedicated (as I have already said) his History to *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, King *Stephen*'s great Enemy, and natural Son to *Henry* I. and who by consequence was really no well-wisher to *Stephen*, assures us, [g] That though he was received for King by the Inhabitants of *London* and *Winchester*, yet that his Brother *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who then was the Pope's Legate in this Nation, was so great an Assistant to *Stephen* in gain-

Henr. Hun-
ng. Histor.
386. —
enit enim
ne morâ Ste-
hanus Theo-
ldi Blesensis
onsulis frater
nior eo, vir
agnæ stre-
nitatis & au-
ciæ, &
amvis juràs-
: in sacra-
entum fideli-
tis Anglici
gni filiæ re-
Henrici,
tus tamen
gore & im-
dentiâ regni
adema,
um tentans,
vasit. Wil-
lmus Can-
riensis Ar-
iepiscopus
i primus
ramentum
æ regis fecerat, eum (proh dolor!) in regem benedixit omnes qui sacramentum jura-
ant tam præsules quàm consules & principes assensum Stephano præbuêrunt, & hominium fecêrunt.
g Will. Malmesb. Hist. Novel. Francofurti 1601. lib. 1. p. 178. — Ille verò à Londonien-
us & Wintonensibus in regem exceptus est nè tamen veritas celetur posteris, omnes ejus
natus irriti fuissent nisi Henricus frater ejus Wintoniensis Episcopus, qui modò Apostolicæ sedis
atus est in Anglia, placidum ei commodasset assensum —— —— Coronatas est ergò in
gem Angliæ Stephanus tribus Episcopis præsentibus — nullis Abbatibus, paucissimis optimati-
s. — *With the Reign of* K. Stephen *we are to take leave of this Historian, and of* Henry *Archdeacon of*
ntington.

ing

ing the Crown, that his endeavours had been in vain without him. And that accordingly *Stephen* was crowned King of *England*, three Bishops being only present thereat, but no Abbots, and very few of the Grandees. But because perhaps for the reason above mentioned, *William* of *Malmesbury* had a Pique against *Stephen*, we will hear what other Historians in and about the same time do say of the manner of his gaining the Regal Dignity.

To proceed then, *John Prior* [h] of *Hagulstad*, next in point of time to the last Author, tells us, That *Stephen*, K. *Henry*'s Sister's Son, and Brother to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, assumed the Regal Power, *Will.* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the generality of the Clergy and the Laity at *London* consenting to his promotion. *Richard Prior* [i] of the same place brings in this King *Stephen* in a Proclamation, owning himself an elected King by the Assent of the Clergy and People, consecrated by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and confirmed by *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*. You see these two latter Historians differ mightily from the former, tho' *Prior John* was Senior to the Archdeacon of *Huntington*, the first of the four affirming, That *Stephen* invaded the Crown; the second, That he was made King by his Brother's Artifice; and the two last, That he was chosen by the consent both of the Clergy (who were very powerful in those days) and the Laity. *Will.* of *Newburg* doth indeed on the other side say, [k] That *Stephen* invaded the Kingdom: but [l] then he withal tells us, That the Bishops and other Nobles, who as well as he had sworn Fidelity to K. *Henry*'s Daughter *Mathildis*, were great Agents in that turn of Affairs. *Ger-*

[h] Johannis Prioris Hagustaldensis Ecclesiæ Historia Londini 1652. col. 258. —— Stephanus Comes Bononiensis, filius sororis Henrici Regis, frater Theobaldi comitis de Blavio, & Henrici Episcopi Wintoniæ sumpsit insulas Regni Rat. Jan. consentientibus in ejus promotionem Willielmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, & Clerorum apud Londonias universitate.

[i] Historia Richardi Prioris Hagustaldensis de gestis Regis Stephani, &c. Londini 1652. col. 312. Ego Stephanus Dei gratiâ, assensu cleri & populi in Regem Angliæ electus, & à Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo & sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ legato consecratus, & ab Innocentio Sanctæ Romanæ sedis Pontifice confirmatus, &c.

[k] Gul. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 14. ——defuncto sed nondum sepulto clarissimo Rege Anglorum, & duce Normannorum Henrico, Stephanus Comes Bononiensis ejus ex sorore nepos regnum Anglorum invasit.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 14, & 15. —— Idem Stephanus sacramenti, quod filiæ ejus (sc. Mathildis) de conservandâ fidelitate præstiterat prævaricator regnum arripuit, annitentibus Præsulibus atque Principibus eodem sacramento astrictis.

vaſe of *Canterbury*[m] is much of the ſame opinion with *Will.* of *Newbury*, affirming, That *Stephen* was advanced to the Kingdom by the aſſiſtance of his Brother *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Grandees of the Nation. Laſtly, *Ralph de Diceto*, Dean of *London*, † only tells us, That *Stephen* Earl of *Bologn*, having heard of his Uncle K. *Henry*'s death, paſſed over into *England*, and was conſecrated or crowned King at *London* by *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, without mentioning by what methods he * attained to that Supreme Dignity. Which laſt account (tho' from the youngeſt Hiſtorian of all that I have quoted) doth (if true) ſeem to free K. *Stephen* from the guilt of Perjury, with reſpect to *Maud* the true Heir. Since therefrom it may be inferred, That he ſwore no Fidelity to her at her Father's death, becauſe he was out of the *Kingdom* when his Uncle *Henry* dy'd: However, it cannot be deny'd, that upon what ſcore ſoever, whether wholly by election, or partly by that and partly by force, he attained to the Scepter, he was no true Heir of the Crown: Nor did he indeed quietly enjoy it, being conſtantly in war about the poſſeſſion of it, firſt with his Couſin *Maud*, (who [n] once unhindged him, and took him Priſoner) and then with her Son *Henry* by her ſecond [o] Husband *Geffrey* Duke of *Anjou*, until at laſt by the Mediation of Friends [p] the matter was accorded, ſo that *Stephen* ſhould reign for the remaining part of his life, as if he had really been the lawful Prince, and Duke *Henry* was to ſucceed him in the *Kingdom*, as lawful Heir thereof. *Gervaſe* of *Canterbury* goes

[m] Chron. Gervaſii col. 1340. Sullimarus igitur Rex Stephanus in regno cum opitulante ſibi fratre ſuo Henrico Wintonienſi Epiſcopo regios obtinuiſſet Thauros, univerſoſque Angliæ proceres ſibi fœderatos haberet.

[n] Abbreviationes Chronicorum autore Radulfo de Dicto, Londini 1652. col. 549. Stephanus comes Bolo-niæ auditâ morte Regis Henrici avunculi ſui, tranſfretavit in Angliam, & à Willielmo Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo conſecratus fuit in Regem apud Lundonias.

And it was ill ſomewhat more favourable on K. Stephen's *ſide, if what the ſame Author ſays elſewhere be true:* viz. *That* Hugh Bigod *the King's Steward coming into* England, *took it upon his oath before the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *that when* K. Henry *was in his laſt Sickneſs, a quarrel happening betwixt him and the Empreſs, he diſinherited her, and made* Stephen *his Heir.* —— Id. ibid. col. 505. Hugo Bigod Seneſchallus Regis veniens in Angliam coram Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi Sacramento probavit, quod dum Rex Henricus ageret in extremis mortis, quibuſdam inimicitiis inter ipſum & imperatricem, ipſam exhæredavit, & Stephanum hæredem inſtituit.

[m] Guliel. Neubrigenſis Rer. Anglic. l. 1. c. 8. p. 24. Rege ipſo inprimis fortiter agente, quo tandem capto & turmâ ejus profligatâ, victor exercitus urbem diripiendam ovans ingreditur, & captivus inſignis dictæ imperatrici tranſmiſſus apud Briſtou cuſtodiæ manciparur.

[o] Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 29. p. 79. —— Henricus Matildis olim imperatricis ex illuſtri Andegavenſi comite filius, &c. [p] Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 30. p. 83. Ubi amicis mediantibus —— Pax inter eos & cautè formata: & ſolidè firmata eſt. Decretumque ut Stephanus de cætero tanquam Princeps legitimus integrè in Angliâ, cum gloriâ & honore regnaret. Henricus verò ei tanquam hæres legitimus in regno ſuccederet.

yet

yet further, [q] for he saith, That the English Nobility did by the King's Command swear Fidelity to Duke *Henry*, with this condition, That *Stephen* should be *King* during his life. And here is one thing worthy of Remarque in this Agreement betwixt the *King* and the *Duke*; That *Maud* the Empress, Mother to Duke *Henry*, and who was the true Heir of the Crown, was wholly neglected, no shadow of Royalty being left for her to whom it strictly belonged, while [r] K. *Stephen* adopting the Duke for his Son, solemnly declared him his Successor, and the Duke honoured the King as his Father and Soveraign before all the People. Thus while these Covenants were agreed to by the Male Pretenders, the Empress had no respect paid to her, as to the true Inheretrix of the English Empire, and [s] dy'd in the thirteenth year of her Son *Henry*'s Reign. For tho', as *W.* of [t] *Newbury* saith, Upon this publick accord, *Stephen*, who was before only King in name, began after that to reign indeed, having first washed off the stain of tyrannical Invasion by becoming now a lawful Prince; yet did not he long enjoy that felicity, (in relating which, that Historian seems to be pleas'd, when there was a Prospect of the right Heirs-male coming to the *Crown*) and after his decease, Duke *Henry* undertakes (as [v] the same Author phrases it) this hereditary Kingdom, being received as Soveraign with an universal satisfaction.

[q] Gerv. Chro col. 1375. — Ibique Comites & B rones Anglic ni regni ex præcepto R gis duci de tam jurave- runt fidelita tem, salvo n mirum hono Regio quoa viveret Re

[r] Gul. Neu- burg. Rer. A glic. l. 1. c. 3 p. 83, & 8 Et rex quid ducem ado- ptans in filiu eum solemn ter successo rem propri declaravit. Dux verò I gem tanqu patrem & d minum in c spectu omn um honorav Guillelmus autem Regi filius junio jubente duc homagium fecit.

[s] Chronic. Johannis Bromton. A. D. 1165. col. 1059. Anno regis Henrici XI Matildis Imperatrix mater ipsius Regis Henrici diem suum clausit extremum.

[t] Gul. Neub Rer. Anglic. l. 1. c. 30. p. 84. — Annis enim jam plurimis, ferè nudo Regis nomine insign tunc recipere visus est hujus rem nominis, & quasi tunc primò regnare cœpit, quia tunc pri purgatâ invasionis tyrannicæ maculâ legitimi Principis justitiam induit

[v] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. p. 93. Henricus, Henrici majoris ex filiâ olim Imperatrice nepos, post mortem Stephani à N manniâ in Angliam veniens, hæreditarium regnum suscepit, conclamatus ab omnibus — concrepa bus per Angliam turbis, Vivat Rex.

No sooner had that magnanimous, but unfortunate Prince *Henry* II. submitted to the inevitable stroke of Death, [x] when (his eldest Son then living) *Richard* succeeded

[x] Id. ibid. c. 1. p. 311 Richardus i strissimi R Anglorum Henrici II. filius, defuncto patri successit. Hic patre sepulto hæreditati mox trans rinæ incumbens; nobilium simul & plebium, solemnibus votis gaudiisq; excipitur.

him:

him: And tho', as *Will.* of *Newburg* declares, he was beyond Sea when his Father left this World, yet was he received, at his return hither, with the solemn Wishes of both the Nobility and the Commonalty, who testified their joy thereat, and almost the whole Nobility attended his Coronation at *London*; a day which proved so fatal to the * *Jews*. Thus doth that Historian set forth the manner how King *Richard* ascended the Throne of his Royal Progenitors, being the first after the *Norman* Conquest, who possessed it in an hereditary Succession. Nor is there the least syllable in that Author of K. *Richard*'s being elected, to whom, as being born long before that King's Coronation, I think greater respect and credence ought to be had, than to one further removed from the time when such things were acted.

Id. ibid. 312. Dies ...im ille Ju...eis exitialis ...isse dinosci...r, &c. *With ...'s King's ...story this ...storian* Ger...se *of* Can...bury *and* ...hn *of* Brom...n *do conclude ...irs.*

King *Richard* being dead (without Issue lawfully begotten) *Arthur*, Son to his younger Brother *Jeffery*, ought to have succeeded his Uncle *Richard* in the English Crown, but his youngest Brother *John* Earl of *Morton* stept over *Arthur* the right Heir's Head: For, [y] as *Roger Hoveden*, who lived at that time, informs us, tho' the Nobility of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *&c.* stuck to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain* abovesaid, as to their Liege Lord, saying, *That it was the Custom of those Countries, that the elder Brother's Son was to succeed in his Father's Inheritance*, viz. *in that Inheritance which* Jeffery *Earl of* Britain *should have had, if he had survived his elder Brother K.* Richard, *and that therefore they delivered* Anjou, Tourain, *&c. to the said* Arthur. I say, notwithstanding what those Lords did in favour of *Arthur*, his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, and Mother to Earl *John*, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Mareshal* being sent to retain *England* in Peace, made all men here, as

Rogeri de ...veden — ...nal. p. 792. ...functo Ri...ardo rege ...gliæ — ...nvertunt in ...am prin...es Andega...æ, Cenoman...æ & Turoviæ ...adhærerunt ...thuro duci ...itanniæ fi...aligio do...no suo, di...tes judici...& consue...linem terra...n illarum ...,quod filius ...tris senioris debet ei succedere in patrimonio sibi debito — videlicet in hæreditatem quam ...afridus Comes Britanniæ pater ipsius Arthuri esset habiturus — si supervixisset Richardum ...em Angliæ fratrem suum & ideo tradiderunt Arthuro Andegaviam, & Turoviam & Cenomanni...m — Id. ibid. p. 793. Hubertus verò Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus & Willielmus Mareschallus, ...im issi fuerant ad pacem Angliæ custodiendam, ferêrunt homines regni tam de civitatibus, quàm ...Burgis, & Comites & Barones, & libere tenentes jurare fidelitatem, & pacem Johanni Norman...um duci, filio Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatricis contra omnes homines.

well

well Citizens and Burghers, as Earls, Barons, and Freeholders, to ſwear Fidelity to *John* the Son of K. *Henry*, who was Son to the Empreſs *Maud*, againſt all others; who conſequent thereof obtained the Kingdom, altho' in prejudice of *Arthur* Earl (or Duke, for he is called both waies) of *Britain*, who notwithſtanding this, gave K. *John* all manner [y] of diſturbance during his life, being [z] by his Mother *Conſtantia*'s means, (as *Matthew Paris* informs us) delivered up to the King of *France*'s protection, who upon that ſcore ſeized upon all his Cities and Caſtles, and aſſiſted and buoy'd up his Intereſt and Title againſt thoſe of K. *John*, in which deſign he was (maugre K. *John*'s Coronation) ſeconded by * ſeveral of the *Norman* Nobility & others.

[y] Mat. Weſtm. flores Hiſtor. p. 263. Johannes igitur frater regis Richardi jam defuncti Comes Moretonii —— pacem ſuam Angliâ nunciavit. Ducatum Normanniæ ſuſcepit & homagia nobilium. Multi tamen magnates Arthuro, quaſi naturali domino, adhæſerunt. Et hoc fuit ſeminarium odii. [z] Matthæi Pariſ. Hiſtoria major Londini 1684. p. 165. —— Conſtantia præterea mater Arthuri ad Regem Francorum Turonem veniens; tradidit ei Arthurum memoratum; quem Rex continuo nuſit Parisios ſi cuſtodiâ deputatum; & accepit in manu ſuâ civitates omnes & caſtella, quæ Arthuri erant. * Matt. Weſtm. Flor. Hiſt. (ut ſuprà) —multi tamen magnates Arthuro, quaſi naturali domino, adhæſerunt

And altho' K. *John* [a] once got his Nephew *Arthur* perſwaded to ſubmit himſelf to him without reſerve, (as *Ralph de Diceto*, who lived then, informs us) yet he paſſing over again to the King of *France*, who entertained him for the ſake of his Eſtates, and cauſed him to be educated at *Paris* with his Sons, created new diſturbances; and when at laſt this *Arthur* was taken Priſoner, and [b] accordingly ſent as ſuch to *Rouen*, K. *John* being menaced with conſtant War, unleſs all the Provinces belonging to *Arthur* by hereditary Right, were reſtored to him, another courſe was taken; ſo that the ſaid *Arthur* not long after that (as *Mat. Paris* informs us, who is next to the laſt-mentioned Hiſtorian in point of time) vaniſhed in a manner unknown almoſt to all people, tho' not without ſuſpicion of

[a] Imagines Hiſtoriarum autore Radul de Diceto, Londini 165 col. 706. Dominus Johannes Rex Angliæ Arturum filium fratris ſui Galfridi comitis Britanniæ venientem ad ſe, & ejus ſe per omnia ſubjicientem volunt. minùs cautè dimiſiſſe. At ille tranſtulit ſe ad Regem Franciæ, qui eum bonis ejus inhians, facit nutriri cum filio ſuo Pariſiis. *At the Reign of King* John *we bid farewel to the Hiſtories of* Ralph de Diceto *and* Roger Hoveden.

[b] Matth. Pariſ. Hiſtor. major. p. 174. —— Et quia hæc omnia ſibi jure hæreditario debebantur affirmavit cum juramento quod niſi celeriùs ſibi jam dicta omnia reſtituerentur, nunquam diutinâ pace fruerentur. Audiens autem hæc Rex Johannes, perturbatus eſt valdè; percepitque ut Arthurus apud Rothomagium mitteretur; & ibi in arce novâ retruſus ſub arctiore cuſtodiâ ſervaretur. Sed non multo poſt, idem Arthurus ſubitò evanuit, modo ferè omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invidia.

foul

foul play in his *Exit*; *Arthur*'s Death, K. *John*'s [c] Irreligion, and (what was more insupportable in that Age) his Oppression of the Nation, the Government of [d] which he resigned up to the Pope of *Rome*, and held it of him in Vassalage; his great Guard of foreign [e] Attendants, most of them being *French*, with other Grievances, so much alienated the Hearts of his Subjects, and particularly of his Barons, that [f] after some Hesitation among themselves, whom they should chuse, they at last agreed to this, That they would set up and advance Prince *Lewis* of *France* to the Kingdom, and accordingly they sent the Earl of *Winchester* and *Robert* Son of one *Walter*, in a solemn Embassy, to *Philip* K. of *France*, and to his Son *Lewis*, and Letters with them sealed with all the Barons Seals, earnestly entreating the Father, that he would send his Son to reign in *England*, and the Son, that he would come to be crowned. Altho' by the way I cannot but mind a seeming contradiction in this Embassy of the English Lords to *France*; for though they plainly declared, That it was sent solely upon their desire to have P. *Lewis* to reign here over them; yet at the bottom [g] (if we may believe *Mat. Paris*, an impartial Historian of that Age) they had another design, namely; That if K. *John* were once deprived of that foreign aid (wherewith he was guarded) by the means of Prince *Lewis* and his Father, whose Subjects the greatest part of those Foreigners (as hath been already hinted) were, and the King being thereby as it were left alone in the War (against them) that he would make a Virtue of Necessity, and would listen to better Counsels.

d. ibid. 206. — ò desipie- : Rex Jo- nnes ut de rtuorum urrectione urâ, & aliis em Christia- m contin- ntibus, malè ntiret, & ædam irre- abiliadicere liramenta, :.

Id. ibid. in han. Reg — ætereà Rex pe dictus — gnum Angliæ mino Papæ ntulit & cclesiæ Ro- anæ; ut ite- m illud ciperet ab s tenendum.

Id. ibid. 234. Ratio item eorum at, quòd ansmarina ultitudo, uibus Rex An- lorum valla- s incessit, &c.

Id. ibid. .234. Cumq; liquandiu, uem elige- ent, (sc. *the English Barons*) hæsitâssent, demum in hoc pariter consensêrunt, ut Ludovicum filium Philippi Regis rancorum sibi præficerent, & ipsum in Regem Angliæ sublimarent. — Cúmq; omnibus communi- er hæc sententia placuisset, misêrunt per solennes nuncios, scilicet Dominum S. Comitem Win- oniensem & Robertum filium Walteri, ad Regem Philippum & Ludovicum filium ejus, literas, om- ium Baronum sigillis munitas: obnixius implorantes patrem, ut filium mitteret in Angliâ regna- urum; & filium, ut veniret illico coronandus. [g] Id. ibid p. 234. — Quibus Rex Anglo- um vallatus incessit si per Ludovicum & patrem suum, de quorum potestate maxima pars eorum (*the King's foreign Attendants*) fuit, privatus esset; dum à cismarino dictus Rex privaretur & desti- ueretur subsidio: ipse quasi solus remaneret in bellis, & faciens de necessitate virtutem, salubriori- us obtemperaret consiliis.

Which

Which was as much (in ſhort) as to make a Stale of P. *Lewis*, and gently to lay him aſide when their own ends were ſerved: And as the ſequel did in part ſhew.

Whether this conjecture of *Mat. Paris* be true or no, is not very material to know; however upon the noiſe of this Invaſion from *France*, [c] the *Pope*'s Legate was ſent over thither to diſſwade P. *Lewis* from invading or ſeizing upon *England*, being then (as he was pleaſed to call it) the Patrimony of the *Roman* Church, and to hinder his Father from ſuffering it: To him it was there anſwered, [f] That *John* called *King of England*, for the Murther of his Nephew *Arthur*, whom he ſlew with his own hands, had in that Court of *France* been condemn'd to Death by the Judgment of his Peers, (he holding, I ſuppoſe, *Normandy*, and other Provinces in *France*, with ſome dependence on that Crown) and that the ſame *John* had for ſeveral Murthers and other Enormities, which he had done in *England*, been diſallowed from reigning over them; wherefore the Barons had there raiſed War againſt him, that they might depoſe him: Moreover, that the ſaid K. *John* had without the conſent of the Nobility conferred the Kingdom of *England* upon the Pope and Church of *Rome*, that he might receive it again from, and hold it of the ſaid Pope and Church, by the annual Tribute of 1000 Marks. And tho' he (*i.e. K. John*) could not give the Crown of *England* to any without the Barons, yet he might forfeit (or, to uſe a new word, *abdicate*) it; for as ſoon as he reſigned his Crown, he ceaſed to be *King*, and the *Kingdom* became vacant without a *King*; and a Kingdom vacant could not

[c] Id. ibid. p. 236. In craſtino itaq; procurante Rege Francorum, ſupervenit Lodovicus ad colloquium, & torvo vultu reſpiciens legatum, juxta patrem ſuum reſedit. Quo facto legatus multis precibus cœpit rogare Lodovicum nè iret in Angliam ad invadendum vel occupandum patrimonium Romanæ Eccleſiæ; & patrem ejus, ut priùs fecerat nè ipſum permitteret ire.

[f] Id. ibid. Ad hæc miles quidam quo Lodovicus procuratore ſuum conſtituerat, ſurgens, audientibus cunctis reſpondit: Domine Rex, res notiſſima eſt omnibus, quod Johannes dictus Rex Angliæ pro Arthuri nepotis proditione, quem propriis manibus interemit, in curiâ veſtrâ per Judicium Parium ſuorum ad mortem ſit condemnatus; ac poſtmodum à Baronibus Angliæ pro multis homicidiis, & enormitatibus aliis, quas ibidem fecerat, nè regnaret ſuper eos reprobatus. Unde Barones contra eum guerram moverunt ut ipſum à ſolio Regni immutabili depellerent. Præterea Rex ſæpe dictus præter aſſenſum magnatum ſuorum, regnum Angliæ Domino Papæ contulit & Eccleſiæ Romanæ ut iterum illud reciperet ab eis tenendum ſub annuo tributo mille Marcarum, etſi coronam Angliæ ſine Baronibus alicui dare non potuit, potuit tamen dimittere eam. Quam ſtatim cum reſignavit, Rex eſſe deſiit, & Regnum ſine Rege vacavit. Vacante itaq; regnum, ſine Baronibus ordinari non debuit: Unde Barones elegerunt dominum Lodovicum ratione uxoris ſuæ; cujus mater, Regina ſcilicet Caſtellæ, ſola ex omnibus fratribus & ſororibus Regis Angliæ vivens fuit.

be disposed of (or settled) without the Barons; whereupon the Barons had elected Prince *Lewis* for their *King*, and that (mind what follows) upon the account of his Wife, whose Mother, the Queen of *Castile*, was the only Person then alive of all the Brothers and Sisters of (*John*) the King of *England*.

This was the Plea of P. *Lewis* and the Barons, which I have transcribed at large, that hereby the Sence of that Age concerning the Succession of the Crown, and the publick Administration of the Government may the better be understood.

I shall in the next place (to resume the Thred of the History) proceed to tell the Reader, That K. *John*, by the Invasion of P. *Lewis*, back'd and assisted by the *English* Barons, was in a manner wholly stript of his Kingdom.

Before his Death (which was not long after the *French* descent into *England*) he appointed his eldest Son, *Henry*, [g] to be heir of his Kingdom, and that *England* should swear Fealty to him; and pursuant of that his Will issued out Letters under his own Seal, to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom and Governours of Castles, commanding them to be assistant thereto.

[g] Id. ibid. 242 Henum filium um primoitum, regni Hæredem nstituit; numque gliæ illi jurare fecit. Literas etiam sigillo suo munitas, ad omnes vicecomites regni & Callanos direxit; præcipiens, ut ei essent singuli intendentes.

His Death turned the Ballance on his Son's side, and mightily changed the Face of the *English* Affairs; for, though it for a while occasioned [h] a great incertainty among the *English* Nobility what they should do, and what King they should submit themselves to; whether to young *Henry*, or (who was the true Heir in his Wife's Right) to P. *Lewis*; yet [i] as a great Assembly was gathered to exalt *Henry* to the Kingdom upon his Father's Decease, whether it was that they really pitied that young

[h] Id. ibid. 245. Erat em eâ temtate inter imates gliæ fluctu- maxima, se Regi nmitterent; Juvenine Henrico, an domino Lodovico.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 243. Defuncto ianne Anglorum Rege ——convenêrunt & turba multa nimis, ut Henricum Johannis Regis um primogenitum in Regem Angliæ exaltarent —— *This Historian concludes his History with of H. III. which he also did not finish.*

*

Prince,

Prince, and justly judged him free of those [k] Crimes, of which his Father had been guilty, to which a great Love for their native Country, and those who were born therein, did not a little contribute, or that they saw Prince *Lewis* break Promise with them, and treat them at an unusual Rate; whether it was one or more or all of these Motives, which cast the Scales of their Affections, however, they at length sided with *Henry* and expelled P. *Lewis*, who ought to have possessed the Crown in Right of his Wife.

[k] Matth. Westmonast. flor. Histor. p. 277. — Defuncto Joanne rege Anglorum — Henricus Joannis primogenitus in regem inunctus, & solenniter coronatus. Et quia se jam exosum, & superbum Ludovicus omnibus Anglis exhibuerat, & munitiones eorum, ac terras spretis Anglis & fœdere, quod cum eis firmaverat, contulerat: omnes Nobiles terræ in brevi ipsi juveni regi Henrico, qui nihil culpæ versus eos meruerat, revertentes fideliter adhæserunt.

Henry's long and troublesome Reign being ended (for he too had Wars with his Barons about the Liberties of the Nation) [l] several of the Nobility, the Clergy and People (as *Matthew* of *Westminster*, the nearest Historian to those Times, informs us) after the Interment of the late King, hastened to the great Altar in *Westminster* Church, to swear Fidelity to *Edward*, the eldest Son of the said King *Henry*, and yet were ignorant whether he was alive or no, being then absent beyond the Seas warring against the Infidels. And further, having made a new Seal, they appointed faithful Ministers and Keepers, who should faithfully keep the King's Treasure and the Kingdom in Peace. So that hereby the new King's Peace was (as the last-mentioned Historian words it) proclaimed in all Places (or Bounds) of the Kingdom. Here was an unexampled Piece of Loyalty, to proclaim an absent Prince King of this Nation: And consequent hereto he was, [m] as *Henry* of *Knyghton* Canon of *Leicester* (the

[l] Id. ibid. p. 401. Rex igitur sepultus sicut mos est regibus sepeliri, Gilbertus & Johannes, Comites Glovernia & Warenniæ, nec non clerus & populus, ac magnum altare Ecclesiæ supra dictæ, celeriter properârunt, Edwardo primogenito regis fidelitatem jurantes, qui viveret penitus ignorârunt. Agebat enim in remotis partibus transmarinis, contra Christi adversarios bellaturus. Postmodum novum templum Lundini nobiliores regni pariter convenêrunt; & facto sigillo novo, constituêrunt fideles ministros & custodes qui thesaurum regis & pacem regni fideliter custodirent; sicque pax novi regis Edwardi in cunctis regni finibus proclamatur — *And with his History of the* Edward *I. do we take leave of* Matthew *of* Westminster, *who there concludes his.*

[m] Henricus de Knyghton canonicus Leycestrensis de eventibus Angliæ, Londini 1652. — Hic etenim Henricus III. mortuus est anno Gratiæ MCCLXXII. & sepultus apud Westmonasterium — Edwardus filius Regis Henrici III. X. non. Augusti rediit de Terrâ Sanctâ in Angliam cum Heleonore uxore, & coronatus est xiv. kalend. Septembris à Roberto Cantuariensi episcopo, & in crastino coronationis suæ recepit publicè homagium & fidelitatem ab Alexandro rege Scotiæ, col. 2451.

next to *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* in point of Time) tells us, upon his Return with his Wife *Eleanor* from the Holy Land, crowned by *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the next Day after publickly received Fealty and Homage of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*.

This *Good King*, * for ſo (as ſaith *Henry Knyghton*) he was called, being departed this Life, the ſame Year the Nobles of the Kingdom ſwore Fidelity before (his Son) *Edward* II. That they would, to the utmoſt of their Power, defend and keep the Kingdom and Crown; and this under Pain of Excommunication.

* Id. ibid. l.2531. Hic imus Edrdus Rex bilis qui nus Edwars vocatus , &c. —(ibid.) dem anno

nes proceres regni juravêrunt coram rege Edwardo II. ad fidelitatem regni & coronæ, quod ſendum ſuum poſſe illud defenderent & cuſtodirent, & hoc ſub pœnâ Excommunicationis per Rortum de Winchelſe archiepiſcopum apud Lundonias inde latâ.

But this King, unlike his valiant and fortunate Father, [n] ſuffering himſelf to be led by falſe and treacherous Counſellours, all his Time, was at laſt depoſed; [o] yet was he not a little ſatisfied, (as much however as his forlorn Condition would permit him) That they had elected his Son *Edward* to reign over them in his ſtead, and to which he gave Aſſent, as much as in him lay.

n Id. ibid. l. 2550. m Rex hæc diſſet, mulin de ſuis lefactis dot, rugitus lamenta ettens, eo

od per falſos & proditioſos conſiliarios ſic omni ſuo tempore ductus fuerat. o Id. ibid. runtamen in ſe tandem poſt multos ejulatus reverſus, nimis gratulabatur, quòd filium ſuum wardum poſt ſe regnaturum elegiſſent, & ei aſſenſum ſuum in quantum potuit attribuit.

Thus this young *Edward*, and third of that Name ſince the Conqueſt, being but fifteen Years old, and his Father then alive and in Priſon, was [p] crowned King at *Weſtminſter* on *Candlemas-day*. The beginning of whoſe Reign was very auſpicious [q] (as the ſame Hiſtorian adds); for then the Earth grew fruitful, the Air temperate, the Sea was calm, and the Church free.

p Id. ibid wardus fis Edwardi conquen tertius, leſcens xv. iter annoi, vivente

uc patre ſuo ſub cuſtodiâ, in feſto Purificationis beatæ Mariæ coronatus eſt in Regem apud ſtmonaſterium. q Id. ibid. In cujus primordiis grata augebantur auſpicia. Nam & e terra ubertatem, aer temperiem recepit, mare tranquillitatem, & eccleſia libertatem.

When

When that victorious Prince ſlept with his Fathers, his Grand-child *Richard*, by his eldeſt Son *Edward*, ſucceeded him [r] not only, (as my Author, who lived then, informs us) by hereditary Right, but alſo by the common Vote of every one.

[r] Id. ibid. col. 2630. Anno Gratiæ 1377. xvii. Kalendarum Auguſti apud Weſtmonaſterium coronatio Richardi II. regis filii Edwardi principis memorat Id. ibid. Hic avo ſuo regi Edwardo jure Hæreditario ac etiam voto communi ſingulorum in re num ſucceſſit Anglorum —— *With this King*, Henry Knyghton *ends his Hiſtory.*

His Government did not at all anſwer the Hopes conceived of him and it: For he was ſo far from doing this, that through his male-Adminiſtration [s] thereof, concerning which, Articles were drawn up againſt him in Parliament, That he had violated his Royal Oath, he was judged worthy of being depoſed. And when the Sentence of Depoſition (according to *Thomas* of *Walſingham*) was read, and that (as he adds) the Kingdom thereby became vacant, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* (Son of *John*, Son to *Edward* III. and younger Brother to *Edward*, King *Richard* II's. Father) ariſing from his Seat, and ſtanding ſo erect as he might be ſeen by all the People, he formally challenged the Kingdom of *England*, with the Crown and all its Appendices, as being deſcended from the Blood Royal of King *Henry*, and out of Juſtice, to which God (as he ſaid) had of his Grace ſent him, ſince by the Aſſiſtance of his Kinſfolk and Friends he had recovered the Kingdom, when it was in abſolute Danger to be loſt, through the Defect of the Government and the violation of the Laws. To this Challenge all the States of the Kingdom (as ſaith the ſame *Walſingham*) ſet their

[s] Ypodigma Neuſtriæ per Thomam de Walſingham, Londini 1574. p. 156. - In craſtino lectæ regis (ſcil. Rich. II.) renunciatione & ceſſione coram ſtantibus regni in magnâ aulâ Weſtmonaſt. conſequenter proceſſum eſt a articules p quibus meri videbatur d ponendus. Q etiam lectior nes violatio juramenti r galis finalite concludebat Proinde ſententiâ depoſitionis regis lectâ conſta-

bat regnum Angliæ cum pertinentiis ſuis vacare. Quapropter Dux Lancaſtriæ de loco ſuo ſu gens, & ſtans erectus, ut poſſet à populo toto videri, muniens ſe ſigno crucis in fronte & in p ctore, & invocato Chriſti nomine, dictum regnum Angliæ ſic vacans, ut permittitur, cum coro ac omnibus pertinentiis vendicavit, in linguâ materna ſub hâc formâ verborum: In Dei nomi amen. Ego Henricus de Lancaſtria vendico regnum iſtud cum coronâ, & omnibus membris i pertinentibus, tanquam per regum ſanguinem venientem de rege Henrico, & per juſticiam qua Deus de ſuâ gratiâ mihi miſit cum adjutorio conſanguineorum meorum & amicorum ad recup randa illud, quod regnum fuit in puncto perditionis propter defectum gubernationis & legu violationem. Huic vendicationi omnes ſtatus regni manus dederunt, & Archiepiſcopi eum regali ſolio poſuêrunt, univerſo populo applaudente. &c.

Hands,

Hands, and the Archbiſhops placed *Henry* (formerly Duke of *Lancaſter*) in the Regal Throne with the univerſal Applauſe of the People; although it cannot well be denied, That by lineal Deſcent, the ſaid *Henry* had no Right to the Crown of this Nation.

'Tis true, That his Couſin, King *Richard* II. when he was reſolv'd to reſign, [t] firſt deſired to ſpeak with the ſaid *Henry*: and [v] when he had reſigned his Regal Authority, he added, That, if it had been in his Power, the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* ſhould have ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. But, ſince (as he ſaid) he believed it was not then in his (i. e. *Richard*'s) Power to do ſo, he requeſted the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Hereford*, whom for that Time he had conſtituted his Proctors to declare his Surrender and Renouncing the Royalty to all the States of the Kingdom; that they would alſo declare to the People his Intention and Will in that particular Caſe: And in token of ſuch his Will and Intention, he then took off his own Finger his golden Ring and Signet, and publickly there put it on the Finger of the ſaid (*Henry*) Duke of *Lancaſter*, deſiring, That what he had there affirmed, might thereby be made known to all the States of the Kingdom. I ſay, this Deſire and deſigned Reſignation of the Kingdom by *Richard* to *Henry*, might in part ſtrengthen that hereditary Title which otherwiſe was deficient in *Henry* IV.

[v] Ibid. col. 2745. Et ſtatim idem rex renuntiationi, & ceſſioni dictis verbo tenus adjunxit; quod ſi eſſet in poteſtate ſuâ, dictus Dux Lancaſtriæ ſuccederet in regno; ſed quia hoc in poteſtate non deprehendebat ſuâ, ut dixit, dictus Eboracenſem Archiepiſcopum, & epiſcopum Herefordenſem, quos pro tunc conſtituit ſuos procuratores ad declarandum, & intimandum ceſſionem, & renuntiationem hujuſmodi omnibus ſtatibus regni, rogavit intentionem & voluntatem ſuam in eâ parte populo nuntiarent, & in ſignum ſuæ voluntatis, & intentionis hujuſmodi, annulum auri de ſigneto ſuo patenter de digito ſuo tunc ibidem extraxit, digito dicti Ducis Lancaſtriæ appoſuit, deſiderans hoc ipſum, ut aſſeruit, omnibus regni ſtatibus innoteſci.

And,

And, if, after the producing the Opinion of our own Hiſtorians, about the Reſignation of our K. *Richard* II. I might conſult that of *John Froiſſart*, a Frenchman, who lived about that Time, [x] he would tell us, That the ſaid King *Richard*, induced by Fear of his Life, and the Perſwaſion of thoſe who were in the miſerable State (of Priſon in the Tower of *London*) with himſelf, did reſign his Royalty publickly to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*: [y] Who afterwards made a publick Challenge of the Crown himſelf, before the Prelates and Clergy, and ſeveral of the Nobility, upon three Accounts: (I.) Of Conqueſt. (II.) Becauſe he was Heir: And (III.) Becauſe *Richard* had reſigned it to him, before certain of the Nobility and Prelacy; and in the ſame place, the ſaid Duke of *Lancaſter* requeſted all the People there preſent to ſhew their Minds about it; and accordingly they ſaid, That they would have none for their King but him.

[x] John Froiſſart's *Chronicle*, Book 3. *Chap.* 24.

[y] Id. ibid. 245.

But, to proceed, although the Right, which King *Henry* IV. had to the *Engliſh* Crown, flowed more from a popular Election than hereditary Deſcent, the Defect of which was partly the cauſe why his Reign was ſo incumbered with Civil Wars, and which, in a manner, entailed the ſame upon his Poſterity and the Houſe of *York*, till their two Roſes grew into one about ſixty Years after; yet did he die in Peace, [z] and his eldeſt Son, *Henry*, was crowned King, without the leaſt ſyllable of an Election of him, by that *Walſingham*, who flouriſhed in this Nation about thirty Years after that King's acceſſion to this Throne.

[z] Thomæ de Walſingham Hiſtoria brevis, London 1574. 426. Eodem anno (ſcil. 1413.) cor natus Londoniis Henricus primogenitus regis Henrici nuper defuncti quinto Idus Aprilis domin cà in paſſione Domini. *And here we alſo part with the Hiſtorian* Thomas *of* Walſingham.

'Tis true, as the Houſe of *York* were his Rivals in Pretenſions to the Britiſh Scepter; ſo did *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* (who had married *Ann* Daughter of *Roger* Earl of

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Hiſtor.
æ 1533.
.p.436.
hic mili-
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æ — ſa-
onjurati-

of *March*, who was the Heir of *Lionel* Duke of [a] *Clarence* attempt it, during the Reign of that magnanimous Prince: But his Conqueſts in *France*, and the great Affection which the *Engliſh* bare him, ſecured him the Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom, till Death put a period at once to his Victories and his Covernment: In neither of which his only Son, *Henry*, was really his Heir; although he obtained his Crowns of *England* [b] and *France*, being adorned with the former at eight Years of Age, and of the latter at ten, becauſe he was a Man more fit for a Cell than a Throne.

[a] — mortem ſibi machinari-- -- -Id. ibid. p 437. — Porrò habebat in matrimonio Ricardus es Annam filiam Rogerii Comitis Marchiæ, quæ reliqua una erat è ſanguine Lionelli ducis enriæ, &c.

[b] Hiſtoriæ Croylandenſis continuatio Oxoniæ 1684. p. 516. Rex verò Angliæ Henricus, anno is ſuæ ſimul & regni octavo, in feſto ſancti Leonardi, apud Weſtmonaſterium ab Henrico hley, C. ntuarienſi archiepiſcopo, ſolenniter extitit coronatus. Quem itidem regem jam to biennio, Henricus Beauford — apud Pariſios magnificis ſuis ſumptibus in regem Franciæ io coronari.

Therefore after the Death of his two excellent Uncles, *John* Duke of *Bedford* and *Humphry* Duke of *Glocester*, the one Protector of *France*, and the other of *England*; *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Heir of the Family which bore that Title, challenges the Crown, and at laſt [c] (as *Polydore Virgil*, whom [d] our excellent Hiſtorian *Deg. Wheare* recommends as a Succeſſor to *Walſingham*) tells us, prevailed ſo far, that, in a Parliament, it was enacted, That after K. *Henry* VI's. Death, the Houſe of *York* ſhould inherit the Kingdom, and in the interim the ſaid Duke *Richard* ſhould be Governour of the Kingdom.

Polyd.
gil. Hiſt.
lic. lib. 23.
03.—
vocatoq;
ncipum
cilio. —
eſſuſque
iam (i. e.
h. *Duke of*
rk) primò

[c] um occupavit, qui regi in ſenatu datus eſt, deinde coram omnibus ſe regem eſſe dixit, docens ure ſe feciſſe. Sed ad extremum habita eſt reverentia majeſtatis, nam ſenatus conſulto decreeſt, ut poſt mortem Henrici, hæreditas regni familiæ Eboracenſi veniret, ac interim Ricar- Dux Eboracenſis regni rector eſſet.

[d] Deg. Wheare Relectiones hyemales de ratione & methodo legendi utraſque Hiſtorias, &c. oniæ 1662. ſect. 30. p. 142, 143. Poſt Walſinghami Chronica Magnus erit hiatus, & la- a annorum ferè ſeptuaginta, niſi à Polydoro Virgilio ſupplementa accerſere placeat. Quod dem in tantâ auctorum noſtrorum penuriâ, non dedignabitur hiſtoriæ ſtudioſus.

But

But Q. *Margaret*, K. *Henry*'s Wife, [e] endeavouring to deliver her Husband (at that Time a Priſoner) falls upon Duke *Richard* with an Army; who being there ſlain, his eldeſt Son *Edward* [f] is immediately declared King by his Party, and *Henry* deprived of the Regal Power, becauſe (adds *Polydore Virgil*) he had neither ſtood to the Agreement betwixt him and *Richard* Duke of *York*, nor had he obeyed (or obſerved) the Law which had been enacted before in Parliament—Purſuant to that Dignity to which he aſpired, and whereof he was the lawful Heir, *Edward* falling upon and defeating K. *Henry*'s Army at *York*, puffed up [g] with that great Victory and with the general Defection of the Princes and People to his Party, having called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he is there created King, and all K. *Henry*'s Acts are diſannull'd and aboliſhed—— And thus in him the Houſe of *York*, who were the right Heirs by Blood, attained the Regal Diadem.

[e] Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hiſt. l. 23. p. 503. Ac reginæ quæ virum armis repetere deliberârat, & ob id jam magnum exercitum fecerat, ubi cognovit hoſtes appropinquare, confeſtim obviam facta, eos prælio aggreditur —— Cecidit in pugnâ Ricardus Dux Eboracenſis illius factionis caput. ——

[f] Id. ibid.

Atque ita capto conſilio Edovardus à ſuis rex declaratur, abrogatâ prorſus omni regiâ poteſtate Henrico quod non ſteriſſet pacto, neque paruiſſet ſenatuſconſulti decreto.

[g] Id. ibid. l. 24. p. 505. Edovardus poſt Henricum profligatum, partim tantâ victoriâ, partim communi principum populorumque ad ſe defectione elatus, triumphantis imperatoris ritu Londinum revertitur, convocatoque more majorum, concilio, ſtatim poſt ad Weſtmonaſterium ad iii. Kalend. Julii, rex creatur, dein ex ejus ſententia omnia Henrici regis conſtituta repudiantur, reſcinduntur, tolluntur.

But this Advancement of *Edward* was not ſo permanent, [h] but that he was again overcome by *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* (once his great Friend) and forced to quit the Realm, and his Rival *Henry* VI. freed out of Priſon, and reſtored to his Royal Dignity, and *Edward* IV. declared an Enemy of his Country, in a Parliament convened at *Weſtminſter*, and all his Decrees, Conſtitutions and Acts were reſcinded. So various was thoſe Princes Fortune, and ſo different were the Actions of thoſe Parliaments: Yet this *Edward*, having again recovered his Kingdom, [i] he called a

[h] Id. ibid. p. 514, 515. Henricus toties victus regnare iterum incipit—— Poſt hæc Henricus circiter vi. Kalendas Decembrias, concilium ad Weſtmonaſterium habet, in quo primùm Edovardus patriæ hoſtis declaratur, quòd regnum occupaſſet —— deinde omnia decreta, conſtituta, acta ipſius Edovardi reſcinduntur, &c.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 521. Edovardus quamvis non incruentam victoriam adeptus, ejus tamen lætitia majorem in modum ſublatus cum Henrico captivo more imperatoris triumphantis, Londinum revertitur.

Parliament at [k] *Weſtminſter*, where all thoſe Conſtitutions and Laws, which had been repealed by *Henry* VI. were revived, and [l] that laſt mentioned Prince and his [m] only Son *Edward* being ſlain, he triumphed over all his Enemies.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 526. Convocavit concilium ad Weſtmonaſterium, in quo primùm revocantur in priſtinum uſum omnia ab eo conſtituta & leges, quæ paulo ante ab Henrico VI. reſciſſæ fuerant, &c.

[l] Id. ibid. p 525 — Henricus VI. paulò ante regno ſpoliatus, in turri morte eſt affectus. Hunc, ut fama conſtans eſt, Ricardus Gloceſtriæ dux gladio percuſſit.

[m] Id. ibid. p 523 — Quem (i. e. Edvardum principem fil. H.6. —— Georgius Clarentiæ, Ricardus Gloceſtriæ Duces, & Gulielmus Haſtyngius, inde talionis pœnam ſubituri, crudeliter crucidârunt.

But his eldeſt Son *Edward* had not ſo proſperous a Fortune: for, though he is uſually ſtyled by the Name of King *Edward* V. yet was he never crowned. 'Tis true, his only ſurviving Uncle, *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, that Monſter of Mankind for Deformity of Body and Cruelty of Mind, did (as [n] we are told by the Continuator of *Ingulphus*'s Hiſtory of *Croyland*, and who lived at [o] that Time) bring him up to *London* in a Regal manner, and placed him in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and (together with the Duke of *Buckingham* his intimate Friend) made all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to ſwear Fealty to *Edward* as King.

[n] Hiſtoriæ Croylandenſis continuatio p. 566.—Pauis exinde lapſis diebus, duces antereſti ſc. Richard *Duke of* Gloceſter *and* the *Duke of* Buckingham)

regem iſtum novellum (i. e. Edward 5.) uſque Londonias more regali recipiendum deduxêrunt; ſcantesque eum in palatio epiſcopi apud ſanctum Paulum, coegêrunt omnes Dominos ſpirituales et temporales, Majoremque ac Aldermannos civitatis Londoniarum, eidem regi fidelitatis juramentum præſtare.

[o] Ibid. p. 578. Acta ſunt hæc expleta apud Croylandiam, anno Dom. MCCCCLXXXVI.

Then the ſaid [p] *Richard* getting himſelf ſtyled Protector of the Kingdom, by the Conſent of all the Lords (during his Nephew *Edward*'s minority) whereby he had abſolute Power to command or forbid any thing to be done,

[p] Ibid. p. 566. ccepitque dius Richardus ux Gloceſt. lum ſolenem mgiſtraum, qui Duci ellaretur, olim ominorum,

Humfrido Gloceſtriæ, ſtante minore ætate regis Henrici, ut regni protector appræcipiens & prohibens in omnibus tanquam alter rex, prout caſus exigebat.

as much as if he had been really King; [q] and a certain Day being appointed for the Coronation of the young King, which while all with Impatience expected, for the Peace and Prosperity of the Kingdom, he having roughly treated the Queen (Wife of *Edward* IV.) and first imprisoned the young King's Relations and Servants, there [r] was presented, by way of a Petition to him in a Roll of Parchment, a Discourse (contrived doubtless by that Tyrant himself) wherein was shewn, That the Children of K. *Edward* IV. were Bastards) supposing that King to have been contracted with a certain Woman, called *Eleanor Boteler*, before he married Q. *Elizabeth*: Moreover, That the Blood of his other Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was attainted, so that none of the lineal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York* could be found uncorrupted but in himself: Wherefore, there was at the Conclusion of that Roll, an Address to him from the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom, That he would take the Government upon himself.

[q] Ibid. (scil hist. Croyland continuat.) p. 566. — sta tutoque festo nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ pro die certo in quo coronatio prædict regis infallibiliter perficere tur, speraban & expectaban universi pacem & prospe ritatem regni Maximum au tem quod dubietatis scrupulum ingerebat erat detentio consanguineorum & servientium regis in carcere; & quod dictus protector non satis humaniter respiciebat honori & securitati reginæ.

[r] Ibid. p. 567 Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii regis Edwardi erat bastardi, supponendo illum præcontraxisse cum quâdam Dominâ Alionorâ Boteler antequam regi nam Elizabeth duxisset uxorem; atque insuper quod sanguis alterius fratris sui, Georgii Duci Clarenciæ, fuisset attinctus; ita quod hodiè nullus certus & incorruptus sanguis linealis ex part Richardi Ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in persona dicti Richardi Ducis Gloucestriæ. Quo circa supplicaba ur ei in fine ejusdem rotuli, ex parte Dominorum & Communitatis regni, ut ju suum in se assumeret.

This fine Artifice, assisted on one side with his feigned Excuses, which induced the less thinking sort of People to believe he desired not the Royalty, and propped up on the other with Fear of his Power, facilitated his accession; so that at last [s] he and his Wife *Anne* were solemnly crowned King and Queen at S. *Peter*'s Church in *Westminster*.

[s] Ibid. p. 567. His itaq; gestis, dicti Richardus Gloucestriæ, accito Thoma Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo Cardinali —— in Ecclesiâ conventua sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium, regalis unctionis coronationisque munus accepit, simulqt eisdem die & loco coronam accepit conjux sua Anna.

And by theſe Steps did that inhuman Prince, who had no Title to the Crown, either ſtrictly by Deſcent or by Merit, aſcend the Engliſh Throne.

But [t] the horrid Murder of his two Nephews, Sons of his Brother *Edward*, and Heirs of the Crown, perpetrated by his Order, and the many other Tragedies acted by the ſame, procured him ſo much the univerſal Odium, that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* Son of *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, who was the ſole Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, entering the Nation in a martial manner, and engaging in Fight at *Boſworth* with the Tyrant *Richard*, a period was there put to his Uſurpation and Life at once, and to the Pretenſions of the jarring Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

[t] Polydor. Vergil. hiſt. Anglic. l. 25. p. 539, 540 Quocirca per literas Roberto Brachynburio præfecto turris Londinenſis mandat, ut aliquo honeſto modo nepotes ipſos quam primum necandos curet. —— Id. ibid. p. 540 —— Ita Edovardus princeps cum Ricardo fratre interiit ——

For, though this Earl *Henry* was even in the aboveſaid *Boſworth* Field crowned King by *Thomas Stanly*, [v] who having, among the Spoils of that Victory, found that Diadem, which the late King *Richard* III. wore, ſet it upon the Head of the victorious *Henry*; and albeit in the Crouds of People, which [x] all-a-long accoſted him, he was ſaluted King: Yet could not he look upon theſe Actions (how pleaſant ſoever in themſelves) as a firm Baſis upon which to fix his Royalty and future Happineſs: therefore having within [y] few Months after his glorious, and (to the whole Nation) fortunate Victory, called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he is there created King, by the Command, as *Polydore Virgil* terms it (or rather, by the Election) of the Nobility and the People [z] after there

[v] Id. ibid. p. 557, 558. Henricus ideptam ſtatim victoriam, Deo optimo maximo multis precibus acceptam retulit —— nihilo interea cum magno clamore regem ſalutante, lautuſque liberaliſſimo animo dante. Quo viſo Thomas Starkeius coronam Richardi inter ſpolia repertam capiti protinus impoſuit, perinde ac ſi jam populi juſſu rex fuiſſet more majorum renunciatus.

[x] Id. lib. 26. p. 559. Interea Henricus iter Londinum verſus facere cœpit, ingenti paſſim greſſium lætitia & congratulatione cum regem appellantium, &c.

[y] Id. ibid. Poſtea coacto ad Weſtmonaſterium concilio, pridie calend. Novemb. Henricus principum atque populi juſſu, rex creatur.

[z] Id. ibid. —— Concilium more majorum indicitur, ac dies dictus, quo Henricus Eliſabeth pulam in matrimonium duceret.

had

had, in a Privy Council (convened upon his coming to *London*) been a Day ſet down, when the ſaid *Henry* was to marry *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, and (indeed) the true Heir of the *Engliſh* Crown: Which was [a] afterwards accordingly performed to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, who thereby ſaw themſelves freed from their Fears of having the Wars continued, and themſelves became a Prey to thoſe Rivals for the Britiſh Throne.

[a] Id. ibid p. 560— Reſtabat ad corroborandum præſentem rerum ſtatum, ut Elizabeth puellam Edovardi filiam perinde ac pollicitus erat, ſibi matrimonio jungeret, quod & fec

Since by theſe happy Nuptials, *Henry*, Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as Son to *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, Son to *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth Son of *Edward* III. was joyned to *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir to *Edward* IV. Son to *Richard* Duke of *York*, Son to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward* III. and *Elizabeth*'s Great Grand Father *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, married *Anne* Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, and of *Philip* Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III.

But before the ſolemnization of that fortunate Union, *Henry*, now made King by the Name of *Henry* VII. [b] in this his firſt Parliament fixed his Title to the Crown upon another Pillar than that enſuing Marriage: For, (as we are told, [c] by one, who wrote a Continuation of *Ingulphus*'s Hiſtory, and who lived at the ſame Time himſelf) in that Parliament, the Kingdom was confirmed to King *Henry*, as if it had been due to him; not by one but many Titles; ſo that (as he ſaith) he may as juſtly be believ-

[b] Id. ibi p. 559.— Henricus p cipum atq populi juſ rex creatu dictuſque Henricus nominis ſe mus.

[c] Hiſtor Croyland Continuatio —— p. 581. In hoc parliamento confirmatum eſt regnum Domino regi, tamq ſibi debitum, non ex uno ſed ex multis titulis, ut non tam ſanguinis quàm victoriæ bellicæ quæſtuſque jure rectiſſimè populo Anglicano præſidere credatur; Fuerant qui conſultius æſti bant, verba ejuſmodi ſilentio potiùs quàm edicto committi; eo potiſſimè, quod in iſto co Parliamento tractatum eſt, atque per regem aſſenſum, | ſuper matrimonio Elizabeth primoge regis Edwardi, in cujus perſona viſum omnibus erat poſſe ſuppleri, quicquid aliunde ipſi deeſſe de titulo videbatur.

ed

ed to have obtained the Government of the People of *England* upon the Right of Victory and Conquest; as of Blood. Wherefore (adds my Author) there were some Men, who thought, that it had been better if such Words had been omitted than expressed in the Act; and the rather, because in the same Parliament, his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* (as hath been already mentioned) had been discoursed of, and assented to by the King; in the person of which Princess there seemed enough, in the Opinion of every Body, to supply whatsoever Defect there appear'd in the Title of the King--- Who certainly could not, unless upon the score of Conquest, pretend with any shew of Reason or Justice to the Possession of this Crown by Descent or Blood, since his [d] Mother, from whom he derived his Title, was then alive, and ought consequently to have inherited it antecedent to him; so that he had no medium left to make use of, and no better Step whereby to mount this Throne, before his Marriage (as he really did) with the Inheretrix of the *Yorkish* Family, than either to do it by the Sword or by Election. The latter of which he seemed wholly to lean his Title upon. For though, [e] as our learned Lord Chancellor Sir *Francis Bacon* tells us, He had three Titles: The First, The Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom by precedent Pact with the Party, who brought him in, he was to marry. The Second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the House of *Lancaster*, to which he was Inheritor (but there I beg the Chancellor's Pardon, for his Mother was the true Heir and not he) in his own Person. The Third, The Title of the Sword or Conquest, for that he came in by Victory of Battle, and that the King in Possession was slain in the Field. Yet [f] (as the same excellent Author informs us) in the Act of Parliament after his Coronation, he did not press to have the Act penned by way of Declaration or Recognition of it: as on the other side, he avoided to have it by new Law or Ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle Way,

[d] *That she* e. *the Coun-* of Rich- nd) *was* ng *after K.* ry VII's. *ing to the* wn, *is evi-* enough *ther found-* S. John's ledge *in* bridge, *by* Henry son *is* d *in* Ann. a. 1506. *al Years* *her Son's* *ng to the* *wn. See* son's *nology, fol.* *and* Po- Vergil. Anglic.

ee History enry *VII.* ancis Verulam *nt S.* Al- London. . p. 2. l ib. p. 7.

Way, by way of Eſtabliſhment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words, that the Inheritance of the Crown ſhould reſt, remain and abide in the King, *&c.*

Which Words might equally be applied, That the Crown ſhould continue to him: But whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and poſſeſſion, (which no Man denyed) was left to fair Interpretation either way.

Thus have I brought down the Hiſtory of the Succeſſion of the *Engliſh* Crown, (at leaſt) from the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy till the two conteſting Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were by a Marriage united into one, whereby thoſe Quarrels about this Scepter, ſo long and ſo furiouſly managed, were laid aſleep, and thoſe Convulſions of State, in which the Health, Vigor and Strength of the Nation did ſo viſibly decline, were thereby in a manner forgotten. I need not carry the Thread of this Hiſtory any lower—For, beſides, that theſe Changes which happened after that celebrated Union ſo lately mentioned, are obvious enough to any Perſon who hath made the leaſt Enquiry into the Manner and Motives which induced the major Part of this Kingdom to throw off the heavy Yoke of the Pope's Supremacy: ſo the Hiſtory thereof is ſo interwoven with that of our happy Reformation, that I cannot herein do the Reader a greater Kindneſs than to refer him to the well-penned Hiſtory of the ſaid Reformation, compoſed by the learned Dr. *Burnet*, now Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*, which hath for ſeveral Years been the Subject for Proteſtant Elegies and Romiſh Paſquils: And, as it hath ſufficiently merited the former; ſo hath its Author with clearneſs of Truth, Strength and Judgment, an accurate Style of undeniable Reaſons, as often baffled thoſe Romiſh Champions, as they have ſhewn their Zeal, or have had the Courage to attaque him and it.

It

It remains, That I subjoyn this for an undeniable Truth, That through the whole Series of this History, whatsoever Deviations there might be, in the Succession, from the direct Line, whether by absolute Force or insinuating Election, the whole Royal Family of *Cerdic*, who founded the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, was never wholly laid aside, but in the unsettled Times of the *Danish* and *Norman* Usurpations; and when *Harold* II. appeared upon the *English* Throne. Which to me seems an undeniable Proof (whatsoever others may pretend to the contrary) That the *English* Crown hath been hereditary for near nine hundred Years, since in all Elective Monarchies, the whole Line as well as particular Persons have usually been laid aside; and whenever that was not, the advancement of the Regal Dignity was owned to be an effect of pure Merit and Choice, and not that of an inherent Right in their Family.

Soli Deo Gloria.

63576

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small disturbance to him, as he had done to the other before: Concerning whose advancement *Florentius* of *Worcester* [a] only saith, That *Henry* succeeded his Brother *William*, and was consecrated King by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, and that he (among other things) abrogated all the evil Customs and unjust Exactions (with which this Kingdom of *England* had been unjustly oppressed) and restored the Law of *Edw.* the Confessor, with those emendations which his Father had made therein before him. But *Eadmerus*, [b] the Disciple of Archbishop *Anselm* of *Canterbury*, and once Bishop of St. *Andrew*'s in *Scotland*, [c] altho' he owns, That that which gave so great hopes to the Nation, upon K. *Henry*'s Accession to the Crown after his Brother's death, was his promising on the day of his Consecration, That he himself would observe good and holy Laws; that he would forbid and take away all Oppressions and Errors in Government, which during his Brother's Reign had been committed either in Ecclesiastical or Secular Concerns; all which he not only confirmed with an Oath, but ordered them to be divulged to the whole Nation under the broad Seal. Although, I say, *Eadmerus* mentions all these things, yet doth he seem to make *Anselm* Successor to *Lanfranc* in the Metropolitical See of *Canterbury*, a great Instrument in fixing the Crown upon *Henry*'s Head; since he adds, That *Anselm*'s presence at the

[a] Flor. Wigor. Chron. p. 650. Cui (*i. e. William* II.) successit junior frater suus Henricus, & mox —— à Mauricio Lundoniensi Episc. in regem est consecratus. Qui consecrationis suæ die S. Dei ecclesiam, quæ fratris sui tempore vendita, & ad firmam erat posita, liberam fecit, ac omnes malas consuetudines & injustas exactiones (quibus regnum Angliæ injustè opprimebatur) abstulit. — Legem regis Eadwardi omnibus in commune reddidit, cum illis emendationibus, quibus pater suus illam emendavit —— Florentius *concludes his History with that of* K. Henry I.

[b] Joannis Pitsæi Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tom. 1. Parisiis 1619. p. 199. Eadmerus vel Edmerus —— Episcopus S. Andreæ in Scotiâ. Fuit S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi primùm auditor & discipulus, deinde convictor & amicus, &c.

[c] Eadmeri Historiæ novor. lib. 3. p. 55. —— Spes inde maximè procedebat quod Henricus qui tunc noviter Fratri (*i. e.* Will. II.) defuncto in regnum successerat, in ipso suæ consecrationis die bonas & sanctas omni populo leges se servaturum; & omnes oppressiones & iniquitates quæ sub Fratre suo emersèrunt in omni suâ dominatione, tam in Ecclesiis quàm in sæcularibus negotiis prohibiturum & subversurum spospondèrat, & hæc omnia juris jurandi interjectione firmatâ, sub monimento literarum sigilli sui testimonio roboraturum, per totum regnum divulgarum iri præceperat. Præsentia (sc. Anselmi) nihilominus communis omnium patris jam ipsi spei non parum roboris apud hominum mentes adjiciebat —— Eadmerus's *History ends with that of* Henry I.

King's

King's Consecration, who was the common Father of all, added not a little strength to that hope which was conceived of *Henry*'s good Rule, in the minds of the People. As if the very appearance of that Archbishop with the new King, affected the Nation so much, as to hinder their murmuring at the exclusion of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, the true Heir of the Kingdom.

Indeed *W. of Malmesbury* [a] takes no notice of this particular, on which *Eadmerus* (I suppose, for his great Patron *Anselm*'s honour) insists so much. He tells us, That *Henry* was elected King, after the solemnities of K. *William* II's Funeral were over, but not without some previous Contests among the Nobility, before that Election was settled. *Simeon* of *Durham* [b] barely mentions his succeeding his Brother *William*: And so doth *Peter Blesensis*,* Archdeacon of *London* †, but with this addition; That his elder Brother *Robert*, at that very juncture, was in the *Holy Land* stoutly warring against the *Turks* and *Saracens*. *Henry* of *Huntington* [c] tells us, That *Henry* was chosen King; as indeed he could not be so by any other means, since his elder Brother *Robert* had certainly the Right to that Dignity by hereditary descent. To conclude this Historical Revolution, [d] *William* of *Newburg* only saith, *Henry* succeeded his Brother. But *Gervase* Monk of *Canterbury* uses this expression, [e] That he undertook the Government, being crowned at *Westminster* by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (as

[a] W. Malmesb. l. 5. p. 156. Occiso verò Rege Willelmo — post justa funeri regio persoluta, in regem electus est, (sc. H. I) aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatis, &c.

[b] Sim. Dunelm. Histor. — de gest. Reg. Anglor. col. 225. Cui (*i.e.* Will. II.) successit junior frater suus Henricus, &c. *With what History that of* Simeon *ends too.*

* Petri Blesensis Continuatio ad Historiam Ingulphi Oxoniæ 1684. p. 111. Porrò successit ei ad regnum frater suus junior Henricus pulcherrimus adolescens, & ex scientiâ literarum ambobus fratribus astutior ac acutior ad regnandum, seniore fratre suo Roberto hoc temporis momento in terrâ sanctâ contra Turcas & Saracenos in Christianorum exercitu strenuissimè præliante.

† Gul. Cave Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus, Londini 1685. p. 226. ——postea Londinensis in Anglia Archidiac. &c.

[c] Henr. Hunting. Hist. l. 7. p. 378. —— Henricus frater ejus junior ibidem in regem electus, &c. *But that Historian also saith in the same place, That the Nobility of* England *were angry with the King* (i. e. Will. II.) *for his Brother* Robert's *sake.* —— Id. ibid. commoti sunt principes Angliæ erga regem causâ fratris sui Roberti adventientis cum exercitu, &c.

[d] Gul. Neubrig Rer. Anglic. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 8. —— Regi Guillelmo infeliciter mortuo, frater suus Henricus successit.

[e] Chronica Gervasii Londini 1652. col. 1338. —— Suscepit Henricus primus Monarchiam totius Angliæ, & coronatus est apud Westmonast. IV. non. Augusti à Mauritio Londinensi Episcopo, quia eo tempore exulabat beatus Anselmus Cantuar. Archiepisc. ex persecutione Willielmi Regis Rufi.

Florentius had said before) and then he adds, That *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was not there, being then in exile through the Persecution of K. *William* II. Which additional Account spoils (if true) the fine Scheme of *Eadmerus*, who would have *Anselm* so great an Instrument in fixing *Henry* upon the Throne: but whether *Eadmerus*, who was then living, or *Gervase*, ought to be herein believed, is left by me to the Reader's Judgment.

Upon the death of *Henry* I. (who survived his elder Brother *Robert*) his Daughter and only Heir *Mathildis* did not succeed him, but *Stephen*, younger Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Alice* Daughter of *William* the Conqueror, and consequently Nephew to the last King *Henry*, altho', [f] as *Henry* of *Huntington* (who lived at that time) saith, he had taken the Oath of Fidelity to the said *Matildis* or *Maud*, (in her Father's time) did, notwithstanding that, invade (as he terms it) the Regal Diadem. And *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was the first that had taken the Oath of Allegiance to the abovesaid *Mathildis*, crowned him; and all the Bishops, as well as the Earls and Princes who had sworn to *Maud*, now gave their assent to *Stephen*, and did him homage: I say, to him who had no Right by hereditary descent, K. *Henry*'s Daughter being then alive, *William* of *Malmesbury*, who dedicated (as I have already said) his History to *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, King *Stephen*'s great Enemy, and natural Son to *Henry* I. and who by consequence was really no well-wisher to *Stephen*, assures us, [g] That though he was received for King by the Inhabitants of *London* and *Winchester*, yet that his Brother *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, who then was the Pope's Legate in this Nation, was so great an Assistant to *Stephen* in gain-

[f] Henr. Hunting. Histor. p. 386. — Venit enim sine morâ Stephanus Theobaldi Blesensis Consulis frater junior eo, vir magnæ strenuitatis & audaciæ, & quamvis jurâsset in sacramentum fidelitatis Anglici regni filiæ regis Henrici, fretus tamen vigore & impudentiâ regni diadema, Deum tentans, invasit. Willielmus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus qui primus sacramentum filiæ regis fecerat, eum (proh dolor!) in regem benedixit — omnes qui sacramentum juraverant tam præsules quàm consules & principes assensum Stephano præbuêrunt, & hominium fecêrunt.

[g] Will. Malmesb. Hist. Novel. Francofurti 1601. lib. 1. p. 178. — Ille verò à Londoniensibus & Wintoniensibus in regem exceptus est — nè tamen veritas celetur posteris, omnes ejus conatus irriti fuissent nisi Henricus frater ejus Wintoniensis Episcopus, qui modò Apostolicæ sedis legatus est in Anglia, placidum ei commodasset assensum —— —— Coronatus est ergò in Regem Angliæ Stephanus — tribus Episcopis præsentibus — nullis Abbatibus, paucissimis optimatibus. — *With the Reign of* K. Stephen *we are to take leave of this Historian, and of* Henry *Archdeacon of* Huntington.

ing

ing the Crown, that his endeavours had been in vain without him. And that accordingly *Stephen* was crowned King of *England*, three Bishops being only present thereat, but no Abbots, and very few of the Grandees. But because perhaps for the reason above mentioned, *William* of *Malmesbury* had a Pique against *Stephen*, we will hear what other Historians in and about the same time do say of the manner of his gaining the Regal Dignity.

To proceed then, *John Prior* [h] of *Hagulstad*, next in point of time to the last Author, tells us, That *Stephen*, K. *Henry*'s Sister's Son, and Brother to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, and of *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, assumed the Regal Power, *Will.* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the generality of the Clergy and the Laity at *London* consenting to his promotion. *Richard Prior* [i] of the same place brings in this King *Stephen* in a Proclamation, owning himself an elected King by the Assent of the Clergy and People, consecrated by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and confirmed by *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*. You see these two latter Historians differ mightily from the former, tho' *Prior John* was Senior to the Archdeacon of *Huntington*, the first of the four affirming, That *Stephen* invaded the Crown; the second, That he was made King by his Brother's Artifice; and the two last, That he was chosen by the consent both of the Clergy (who were very powerful in those days) and the Laity. *Will.* of *Newburg* doth indeed on the other side say, [k] That *Stephen* invaded the Kingdom: but [l] then he withal tells us, That the Bishops and other Nobles, who as well as he had sworn Fidelity to K. *Henry*'s Daughter *Mathildis*, were great Agents in that turn of Affairs. *Ger-*

[h] Johannis Prioris Hagustaldensis Ecclesiæ Historia, Londini 1652. col. 258. —— Stephanus Comes Bononiensis, filius sororis Henrici Regis; frater Teobaldi comitis de Blavio & Henrici Episcopi Wintoniæ sumpsit insulas Regni Kal. Jan consentientibus in ejus promotionem Willielmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, & laicorum apud Londonias universitate.

[i] Historia Richardi Prioris Hagustaldensis de gestis Regis Stephani, &c. Londini 1652. col. 314. Ego Stephanus Dei gratiâ, assensu cleri & populi in Regem Angliæ electus, & à Willelmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo & sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ legato consecratus, & ab Innocentio Sanctæ Romanæ sedis Pontifice confirmatus, &c.

[k] Gul. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 14. —— defuncto sed nondum sepulto clarissimo Rege Anglorum, & duce Normannorum Henrico, Stephanus Comes Bononiensis ejus ex sorore nepos regnum Anglorum invasit.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 14, & 15. —— Idem Stephanus sacramenti, quod filiæ ejus (sc. Mathildis) de conservandâ fidelitate præstiterat prævaricator regnum arripuit, annitentibus Præsulibus atque Principibus eodem sacramento astrictis.

vase of *Canterbury* [m] is much of the same opinion with *Will.* of *Newbury*, affirming, That *Stephen* was advanced to the Kingdom by the assistance of his Brother *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Grandees of the Nation. Lastly, *Ralph de Diceto*, Dean of *London*, [†] only tells us, That *Stephen* Earl of *Bologn*, having heard of his Uncle K. *Henry*'s death, passed over into *England*, and was consecrated or crowned King at *London* by *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, without mentioning by what methods he * attained to that Supreme Dignity. Which last account (tho' from the youngest Historian of all that I have quoted) doth (if true) seem to free K. *Stephen* from the guilt of Perjury, with respect to *Maud* the true Heir. Since therefrom it may be inferred, That he swore no Fidelity to her at her Father's death, because he was out of the *Kingdom* when his Uncle *Henry* dy'd: However, it cannot be deny'd, that upon what score soever, whether wholly by election, or partly by that and partly by force, he attained to the Sceptre, he was no true Heir of the Crown: Nor did he indeed quietly enjoy it, being constantly in war about the possession of it, first with his Cousin *Maud*, (who [n] once unhindged him, and took him Prisoner) and then with her Son *Henry* by her second [o] Husband *Geffrey* Duke of *Anjou*, until at last by the Mediation of Friends [p] the matter was accorded, so that *Stephen* should reign for the remaining part of his life, as if he had really been the lawful Prince, and Duke *Henry* was to succeed him in the *Kingdom*, as lawful Heir thereof. *Gervase* of *Canterbury* goes

[m] Chron. Gervasii col. 1340. Sullimacus igitur Rex Stephanus in regno cum opitulante sibi fratre suo Henrico Wintonienſi Episcopo regios obtinuisset Thesauros, universosque Angliæ proceres conſœderatos haberet.

[†] Abbreviationes Chronicorum autore Radulfo de Diceto, Londini 1652. col. 549. Stephanus comes Boloniæ auditâ morte Regis Henrici avunculi sui, transfretavit in Angliam, & à Willielmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo consecratus est in Regem apud Lundonium.

* *And it was still somewhat more favourable to K.* Stephen's *side, if what the same Author says elsewhere be true:* viz. *That* Hugh Bigod *the King's Steward coming into* England, *took it upon his oath before the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *that when K.* Henry *was in his last Sickness, a quarrel happening betwixt him and the Empress, he disinherited her, and made* Stephen *his Heir.* —— Id. ibid. col. 505. Hugo Bigod Seneschallus Regis veniens in Angliam coram Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi Sacramento probavit, quod dum Rex Henricus ageret in extremis mortis, quibusdam inimicitiis inter ipsum & imperatricem, ipsam exhæredavit, & Stephanum hæredem instituit.

[n] Guliel. Neubrigensis Rer. Anglic. l. 1. c. 8. p. 24. Rege ipso inprimis fortiter agente, quo tandem capto & turmâ ejus profligatâ, victor exercitus urbem diripiendam ovans ingreditur, & captivus insignis dictæ imperatrici transmissus apud Bristou custodiæ mancipatur.

[o] Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 29. p. 79. —— Henricus Matildis olim imperatricis ex illustri Andegavensi Comite filius, &c. [p] Id. ibid. l. 1. c. 30. p. 83. Ubi amicis mediantibus —— Pax inter eos & cautè formata: & solidè firmata est. Decretumque ut Stephanus de cætero tanquam Princeps legitimus integrè in Angliâ, cum glorià & honore regnaret. Henricus verò ei tanquam hæres legitimus in regno succederet.

yet

yet further, [q] for he saith, That the English Nobility did by the King's Command swear Fidelity to Duke *Henry*, with this condition, That *Stephen* should be *King* during his life. And here is one thing worthy of Remarque in this Agreement betwixt the *King* and the *Duke*; That *Maud* the Empress, Mother to Duke *Henry*, and who was the true Heir of the Crown, was wholly neglected, no shadow of Royalty being left for her to whom it strictly belonged, while [r] K. *Stephen* adopting the Duke for his Son, solemnly declared him his Successor, and the Duke honoured the King as his Father and Soveraign before all the People. Thus while these Covenants were agreed to by the Male Pretenders, the Empress had no respect paid to her, as to the true Inheretrix of the English Empire, and [s] dy'd in the thirteenth year of her Son *Henry*'s Reign. For tho', as *W.* of [t] *Newbury* saith, Upon this publick accord, *Stephen*, who was before only King in name, began after that to reign indeed, having first washed off the stain of tyrannical Invasion by becoming now a lawful Prince; yet did not he long enjoy that felicity, (in relating which, that Historian seems to be pleas'd, when there was a Prospect of the right Heirs-male coming to the *Crown*.) and after his decease, Duke *Henry* undertakes (as [v] the same Author phrases it) this hereditary Kingdom, being received as Soveraign with an universal satisfaction.

[q] Gerv. Chron. col. 1375. —— Ibique Comites & Barones Anglicani regni ex præcepto Regis duci debitam juraverunt fidelitatem, salvo nimirum honore Regio quoad viveret Rex.

[r] Gul. Neuburg. Rer. Anglic. l. 1. c. 30. p. 83, & 84. Et rex quidem ducem adoptans in filium eum solemniter successorem proprium declaravit. Dux verò Regem tanquam patrem & dominum in conspectu omnium honoravit. Guillelmus autem Regis filius, junior jubente duci, homagium fecit.

[s] Chronic. Johannis Bromton. A. D. 1165. col. 1059. Anno regis Henrici XIII. Matildis Imperatrix mater ipsius Regis Henrici diem suum clausit extremum.

[t] Gul. Neubrig. Rer. Anglic. l. 1. c. 30. p. 84. —— Annis enim jam plurimis, ferè nudo Regis nomine insignis; tunc recipere visus est hujus rem nominis, & quasi tunc primò regnare cœpit, quia tunc primò purgatâ invasionis tyrannicæ maculâ legitimi Principis justitiam induit.

[v] Id. ibid. lib. 2. cap. 1. p. 93. —— Henricus, Henrici majoris ex filiâ olim Imperatrice nepos, post mortem Stephani à Normanniâ in Angliam veniens, hæreditarium regnum suscepit, conclamatus ab omnibus—concrepantibus per Angliam turbis, Vivat Rex.

No sooner had that magnanimous, but unfortunate Prince *Henry* II. submitted to the inevitable stroke of Death, [x] when (his eldest Son then living) *Richard* succeeded

[x] Id. ibid. l. 4. c. 1. p. 311. Richardus illustrissimi Regis Anglorum Henrici II. filius, defuncto patri successit. Hic patre sepulto hæreditati mox transmarinæ incumbens; nobilium simul & plebium, solemnibus votis gaudiisq; excipitur.

him:

him: And tho', as *Will.* of *Newburg* declares, he was beyond Sea when his Father left this World, yet was he received, at his return hither, with the solemn Wishes of both the Nobility and the Commonalty, who testified their joy thereat, and almost the whole Nobility attended his Coronation at *London*; a day which proved so fatal to the * *Jews*. Thus doth that Historian set forth the manner how King *Richard* ascended the Throne of his Royal Progenitors, being the first after the *Norman* Conquest, who possessed it in an hereditary Succession. Nor is there the least syllable in that Author of K. *Richard*'s being elected, to whom, as being born long before that King's Coronation, I think greater respect and credence ought to be had, than to one further removed from the time when such things were acted.

* Id. ibid. p. 312. Dies enim ille Judæis exitialis fuisse dinoscitur, &c. *With this King's History this Historian* Gervase *of* Canterbury *and* John *of* Bromton *do conclude theirs.*

King *Richard* being dead (without Issue lawfully begotten) *Arthur*, Son to his younger Brother *Jeffery*, ought to have succeeded his Uncle *Richard* in the English Crown, but his youngest Brother *John* Earl of *Morton* stept over *Arthur* the right Heir's Head: For, [y] as *Roger Hoveden*, who lived at that time, informs us, tho' the Nobility of *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *&c.* stuck to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain* abovesaid, as to their Liege Lord, saying, *That it was the Custom of those Countries, that the elder Brother's Son was to succeed in his Father's Inheritance*, viz. *in that Inheritance which* Jeffery *Earl of* Britain *should have had, if he had survived his elder Brother K.* Richard, *and that therefore they delivered* Anjou, Tourain, *&c. to the said* Arthur. I say, notwithstanding what those Lords did in favour of *Arthur*, his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, and Mother to Earl *John*, *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Mareshal* being sent to retain *England* in Peace, made all men here, as

y Rogeri de Hoveden — Annal. p. 792. defuncto Richardo rege Angliæ — Convertunt in unum principes Andegaviæ, Cenomanniæ & Turoviæ & adhæserunt Arthuro duci Britanniæ sicut ligio domino suo, dicentes judicium & consuetudinem terrarum illarum esse, quod filius fratris senioris debet ei succedere in patrimonio sibi debito — videlicet in hæreditatem quam Gaufridus Comes Britanniæ pater ipsius Arthuri esset habiturus — si supervixisset Richardum regem Angliæ fratrem suum & ideo tradiderunt Arthuro Andegaviam & Turoviam & Cenomanniam. — Id. ibid. p. 793. Hubertus vero Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus & Willielmus Mareschallus, qui missi fuerant ad pacem Angliæ custodiendam, fecerunt homines regni tam de civitatibus, quàm de Burgis, & Comites & Barones, & libere tenentes jurare fidelitatem, & pacem Johanni Normannorum duci, filio Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatricis contra omnes homines.

well

well Citizens and Burghers, as Earls, Barons, and Freeholders, to swear Fidelity to *John* the Son of K. *Henry*, who was Son to the Empress *Maud*, against all others; who consequent thereof obtained the Kingdom, altho' in prejudice of *Arthur* Earl (or Duke, for he is called both waies) of *Britain*, who notwithstanding this, gave K. *John* all manner [y] of disturbance during his life, being [z] by his Mother *Constantia*'s means, (as *Matthew Paris* informs us) delivered up to the King of *France*'s protection, who upon that score seized upon all his Cities and Castles, and assisted and buoy'd up his Interest and Title against those of K. *John*, in which design he was (maugre K. *John*'s Coronation) seconded by * several of the *Norman* Nobility & others.

[y] Mat. Westm. flores Histor. p. 263. Johannes igitur frater regis Richardi, jam defuncti, Comes Moretonii —— pacem suam in-

Angliâ nunciavit. Ducatum Normanniæ suscepit & homagia nobilium. Multi tamen magnates Arthuro, quasi naturali domino, adhesérunt. Et hoc fuit seminarium odii. [z] Matthæi Paris. Historia major Londini 1684. p. 165. —— Constantia præterea mater Arthuri ad Regem Francorum Turonem veniens; tradidit ei Arthurum memoratum; quem Rex continuo misit Parisios sub custodiâ deputatum; & accepit in manu suâ civitates omnes & castella, quæ Arthuri erant. * Mat. Westm. Flor. Hist. (ut suprà) --multi tamen magnates Arthuro, quasi naturali domino, adhæserunt.

And altho' K. *John* [a] once got his Nephew *Arthur* perswaded to submit himself to him without reserve, (as *Ralph de Diceto*, who lived then, informs us) yet he passing over again to the King of *France*, who entertained him for the sake of his Estates, and caused him to be educated at *Paris* with his Sons, created new disturbances; and when at last this *Arthur* was taken Prisoner, and [b] accordingly sent as such to *Roan*, K. *John* being menaced with constant War, unless all the Provinces belonging to *Arthur* by hereditary Right, were restored to him, another course was taken; so that the said *Arthur* not long after that (as *Mat. Paris* informs us, who is next to the last-mentioned Historian in point of time) vanished in a manner unknown almost to all people, tho' not without suspicion of

[a] Imagines Historiarum autore Radulfo de Diceto, Londini 1652. col. 706. Dominus Johannes Rex Angliæ Arturum filium fratris sui Galfridi comitis Britanniæ venientem ad se, & ejus se per omnia subjicientem voluntati minùs cautè dimisit à se. At ille

transtulit se ad Regem Franciæ, qui eum bonis ejus inhians, facit nutriri cum filio suo Parisiis.— *At the Reign of King* John *we bid farewel to the Historites of* Ralph de Diceto *and* Roger Hoveden.

[b] Matth. Paris. Histor. major. p. 174. —— Et quia hæc omnia sibi jure hæreditario debebantur; affirmavit cum juramento quod nisi celeriùs sibi jam dicta omnia restitueret, nunquam diutinâ pace frueretur. Audiens autem hæc Rex Johannes, perturbatus est valdè; percepitque ut Arthurus apud Rothomagum mitteretur; & ibi in arce novâ retrusus sub arctiore custodiâ servaretur. Sed non multo post, idem Arthurus subitò evanuit, modo ferè omnibus ignorato, utinam non ut fama refert invidia.

foul

foul play in his *Exit*; *Arthur*'s Death, K. *John*'s [c] Irreligion, and (what was more insupportable in that Age) his Oppression of the Nation, the Government of [d] which he resigned up to the Pope of *Rome*, and held it of him in Vassalage; his great Guard of foreign [e] Attendants, most of them being *French*, with other Grievances, so much alienated the Hearts of his Subjects, and particularly of his Barons, that [f] after some Hesitation among themselves, whom they should chuse, they at last agreed to this, That they would set up and advance Prince *Lewis* of *France* to the Kingdom, and accordingly they sent the Earl of *Winchester* and *Robert* Son of one *Walter*, in a solemn Embassy, to *Philip* K. of *France*, and to his Son *Lewis*, and Letters with them sealed with all the Barons Seals, earnestly entreating the Father, that he would send his Son to reign in *England*, and the Son, that he would come to be crowned. Altho' by the way I cannot but mind a seeming contradiction in this Embassy of the English Lords to *France*; for though they plainly declared, That it was sent solely upon their desire to have P. *Lewis* to reign here over them; yet at the bottom [g] (if we may believe *Mat. Paris*, an impartial Historian of that Age) they had another design, namely; That if K. *John* were once deprived of that foreign aid (wherewith he was guarded) by the means of Prince *Lewis* and his Father, whose Subjects the greatest part of those Foreigners (as hath been already hinted) were, and the King being thereby as it were left alone in the War (against them) that he would make a Virtue of Necessity, and would listen to better Counsels.

[c] Id. ibid. p. 206. — adeò desipiebat Rex Johannes ut de mortuorum resurrectione futurâ, & aliis fidem Christianam contingentibus, malè sentiret, & quasdam irrecitabilia dicere deliramenta, &c.

[d] Id. ibid. in Johan. Reg. — Præterea Rex sæpe dictus — regnum Angliæ domino Papæ contulit & Ecclesiæ Romanæ; ut iterum illud reciperet ab eis tenendum.

[e] Id. ibid. p. 234. Rei autem eorum erat, quòd transmarina multitudo, quibus Rex Anglorum vallatus incessit, &c.

[f] Id. ibid. p. 234. (unus aliquandiu, quem eligerent, (sc. *the English Barons*) hæsitâssent, demum in hoc pariter consensêrunt, ut Ludovicum filium Philippi Regis Francorum sibi præficerent, & ipsum in Regem Angliæ sublimarent. — Cúmq; omnibus communiter hæc sententia placuisset, miserunt per solennes nuncios, scilicet Dominum S. Comitem Wintoniensem & Robertum filium Walteri, ad Regem Philippum & Ludovicum filium ejus, literas, omnium Baronum sigillis munitas: obnixius implorantes patrem, ut filium mitteret in Angliâ regnaturum; & filium, ut veniret illico coronandus.

[g] Id. ibid p. 234. — Quibus Rex Anglorum vallatus incessit. si per Ludovicum & patrem suum, de quorum potestate maxima pars eorum (*the King's forrign Attendants*) fuit, privatus esset; dum à cismarino dictus Rex privaretur & destitueretur subsidio: ipse quasi solus remaneret in bellis, & faciens de necessitate virtutem, salubrioribus obtemperaret consiliis.

Which

Which was as much (in short) as to make a Stale of P. *Lewis*, and gently to lay him aside when their own ends were served: And as the sequel did in part shew.

Whether this conjecture of *Mat. Paris* be true or no, is not very material to know; however upon the noise of this Invasion from *France*, [e] the *Pope*'s Legate was sent over thither to dissuade P. *Lewis* from invading or seizing upon *England*, being then (as he was pleased to call it) the Patrimony of the *Roman* Church, and to hinder his Father from suffering it: To him it was there answered, [f] That *John* called *King of England*, for the Murther of his Nephew *Arthur*, whom he slew with his own hands, had in that Court of *France* been condemn'd to Death by the Judgment of his Peers, (he holding, I suppose, *Normandy*, and other Provinces in *France*, with some dependence on that Crown) and that the same *John* had for several Murthers and other Enormities, which he had done in *England*, been disallowed from reigning over them; wherefore the Barons had there raised War against him, that they might depose him: Moreover, that the said K. *John* had without the consent of the Nobility conferred the Kingdom of *England* upon the Pope and Church of *Rome*, that he might receive it again from, and hold it of the said Pope and Church, by the annual Tribute of 1000 Marks. And tho' he (*i.e. K. John*) could not give the Crown of *England* to any without the Barons, yet he might forfeit (or, to use a new word, *abdicate*) it; for as soon as he resigned his Crown, he ceased to be *King*, and the *Kingdom* became vacant without a *King*; and a Kingdom vacant could not

[e] Id. ibid. p. 236. — In crastino itaq; procurante Rege Francorum, supervenit Lodovicus ad colloquium, & torvo vultu respiciens legatum, juxta patrem suum resedit. Quo facto legatus multis precibus cœpit rogare Lodovicum nè iret in Angliam ad invadendum vel occupandum patrimonium Romanæ Ecclesiæ; & patrem ejus, ut priùs fecerat, nè ipsum permitteret ire.

[f] Id. ibid. — Ad hæc miles quidam quem Lodovicus procuratorem suum constituerat, surgens, audientibus cunctis respondit: Domine Rex, res notissima est omnibus, quod Johannes dictus Rex Angliæ pro Arthuri nepotis proditione, quem propriis manibus interemit, in curiâ vestrâ per Judicium Parium suorum ad mortem sit condemnatus; ac postmodum à Baronibus Angliæ pro multis homicidiis, & enormitatibus aliis, quas ibidem fecerat, nè regnaret super eos, reprobatus. Unde Barones contra eum guerram moverunt ut ipsum à solio Regni immutabiliter depellerent. Præterea Rex sæpe dictus præter assensum magnatum suorum, regnum Angliæ Domino Papæ contulit & Ecclesiæ Romanæ ut iterum illud reciperet ab eis tenendum sub annuo tributo mille Marcarum, etsi coronam Angliæ sine Baronibus alicui dare non potuit, potuit tamen dimittere eam. Quam statim cum resignavit, Rex esse desiit, & Regnum sine Rege vacavit. Vacans itaq; regnum, sine Baronibus ordinari non debuit: Unde Barones elegerunt dominum Lodovicum ratione uxoris suæ; cujus mater, Regina scilicet Castellæ, sola ex omnibus fratribus & sororibus Regis Angliæ vivens fuit.

be disposed of (or settled) without the Barons; whereupon the Barons had elected Prince *Lewis* for their *King*, and that (mind what follows) upon the account of his Wife, whose Mother, the Queen of *Castile*, was the only Person then alive of all the Brothers and Sisters of (*John*) the King of *England*.

This was the Plea of P. *Lewis* and the Barons, which I have transcribed at large, that hereby the Sence of that Age concerning the Succession of the Crown, and the publick Administration of the Government may the better be understood.

I shall in the next place (to resume the Thred of the History) proceed to tell the Reader, That K. *John*, by the Invasion of P. *Lewis*, back'd and assisted by the *English* Barons, was in a manner wholly stript of his Kingdom.

Before his Death (which was not long after the *French* descent into *England*) he appointed his eldest Son, *Henry*, [g] to be heir of his Kingdom, and that *England* should swear Fealty to him; and pursuant of that his Will issued out Letters under his own Seal, to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom and Governours of Castles, commanding them to be assistant thereto.

[g] Id. ibid. p. 242 Henricum filium suum primogenitum, regni sui Hæredem constituit; regnumque Angliæ illi jurare fecit. Literas etiam sigillo suo munitas, ad omnes vicecomites regni & Castellanos direxit; præcipiens, ut ei essent singuli intendentes.

His Death turned the Ballance on his Son's side, and mightily changed the Face of the *English* Affairs; for, though it for a while occasioned [h] a great incertainty among the *English* Nobility what they should do, and what King they should submit themselves to; whether to young *Henry*, or (who was the true Heir in his Wife's Right) to P. *Lewis*; yet [i] as a great Assembly was gathered to exalt *Henry* to the Kingdom upon his Father's Decease, whether it was that they really pitied that young

[h] Id. ibid. p. 245. Erat autem eâ tempestate inter optimates Angliæ fluctuatio maxima, cui se Regi committerent; Juvenine Henrico, an domino Lodovico.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 243. Defuncto Johanne Anglorum Rege ——convenêrunt & turba multa nimis, ut Henricum Johannis Regis filium primogenitum in Regem Angliæ exaltarent —— *This Historian concludes his History with that of* H. III. *which he also did not finish.*

*

Prince,

Prince, and justly judged him free of those [k] Crimes, of which his Father had been guilty, to which a great Love for their native Country and those who were born therein, did not a little contribute, or that they saw Prince *Lewis* break Promise with them, and treat them at an unusual Rate; whether it was one or more or all of these Motives, which cast the Scales of their Affections, however, they at length sided with *Henry* and expelled P. *Lewis*, who ought to have possessed the Crown in Right of his Wife.

[k] Matth. Westmonast. flor. Histor. p. 277. — Defuncto Joanne, rege Anglorum — Henricus Joannis primogenitus in regem inunctus, & solenniter coronatus. Et quia se jam exosum, & superbum Ludovicus omnibus Anglis exhibuerat, & munitiones eorum, ac terras spretis Anglis & fœdere, quod cum eis firmaverat, contulerat: omnes Nobiles terræ in brevi ipsi juveni regi Henrico, qui nihil culpæ versus eos meruerat, revertentes fideliter adhæserunt.

Henry's long and troublesome Reign being ended (for he too had Wars with his Barons about the Liberties of the Nation) [l] several of the Nobility, the Clergy and People (as *Matthew* of *Westminster*, the nearest Historian to those Times, informs us) after the Interment of the late King, hastened to the great Altar in *Westminster* Church, to swear Fidelity to *Edward*, the eldest Son of the said King *Henry*, and yet were ignorant whether he was alive or no, being then absent beyond the Seas warring against the Infidels. And further, having made a new Seal, they appointed faithful Ministers and Keepers, who should faithfully keep the King's Treasure and the Kingdom in Peace. So that hereby the new King's Peace was (as the last-mentioned Historian words it) proclaimed in all Places (or Bounds) of the Kingdom. Here was an unexampled Piece of Loyalty, to proclaim an absent Prince King of this Nation: And consequent hereto he was, [m] as *Henry* of *Knyghton* Canon of *Leicester* (the

[l] Id. ibid. p. 401. Rege igitur sepulto, sicut mos est regibus sepeliri, Gilbertus & Johannes, Comites Gloverniæ & Warrenniæ, nec non clerus & populus, ad magnum altare Ecclesiæ supra dictæ, celeriter properârunt, Edwardo primogenito regis fidelitatem jurantes, qui si viveret penitus ignorârunt. Agebat enim in remotis partibus transmarinis, contra Christi adversarios bellaturus. Postmodum ad novum templum Lundini nobiliores regni pariter convenêrunt; & facto sigillo novo, constituêrunt fideles ministros & custodes qui thesaurum regis & pacem regni fideliter custodirent; sicque pax novi regis Edwardi in cunctis regni finibus proclamatur *And with his History of this* Edward *I. do we take leave of* Matthew *of* Westminster, *who there concludes his.*

[m] Henricus de Knyghton canonicus Leycestrensis de eventibus Angliæ, Londini 1652. Hic etenim Henricus III. mortuus est anno Gratiæ MCCLXXII. & sepultus apud Westmonasterium Edwardus filius Regis Henrici III. X. non. Augusti rediit de Terrâ Sanctâ in Angliam cum Heleonorâ uxore, & coronatus est xiv. kalend. Septembris à Roberto Cantuariensi episcopo, & in crastino coronationis suæ recepit publicè homagium & fidelitatem ab Alexandro rege Scotiæ, col. 2451.

next to *Matthew* of *Westminster* in point of Time) tells us, upon his Return with his Wife *Eleanor* from the Holy Land, crowned by *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the next Day after publickly received Fealty and Homage of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*.

This *Good King*,* for so (as saith *Henry Knyghton*) he was called, being departed this Life, the same Year the Nobles of the Kingdom swore Fidelity before (his Son) *Edward* II. That they would, to the utmost of their Power, defend and keep the Kingdom and Crown; and this under Pain of Excommunication.

* Id. ibid. col. 2531. Hic primus Edwardus Rex nobilis qui bonus Edwardus vocatus est, &c. ——(ibid.) Eodem anno omnes proceres regni juravêrunt coram rege Edwardo II. ad fidelitatem regni & coronæ, quod secundum suum posse illud defenderent & custodirent, & hoc sub pœnâ Excommunicationis per Robertum de Winchelse archiepiscopum apud Lundonias inde latâ.

But this King, unlike his valiant and fortunate Father, [n] suffering himself to be led by false and treacherous Counsellours, all his Time, was at last deposed; [o] yet was he not a little satisfied, (as much however as his forlorn Condition would permit him) That they had elected his Son *Edward* to reign over them in his stead, and to which he gave Assent, as much as in him lay.

[n] Id. ibid. col. 2550. Cum Rex hæc audisset, multum de suis malefactis doluit, rugitus & lamenta emittens, eo quòd per falsos & proditiosos consiliarios sic omni suo tempore ductus fuerat. [o] Id. ibid. Verumtamen in se tandem post multos ejulatus reversus, nimis gratulabatur, quòd filium suum Edwardum post se regnaturum elegisset, & ei assensum suum in quantum potuit attribuit.

Thus this young *Edward*, and third of that Name since the Conquest, being but fifteen Years old, and his Father then alive and in Prison, was [p] crowned King at *Westminster* on *Candlemas-day*. The beginning of whose Reign was very auspicious [q] (as the same Historian adds); for then the Earth grew fruitful, the Air temperate, the Sea was calm, and the Church free.

[p] Id. ibid. Edwardus filius Edwardi post conquestum tertius, adolescens xv. circiter annorum, vivente adhuc patre suo sub custodiâ, in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ coronatus est in Regem apud Westmonasterium. [q] Id. ibid. In cujus primordiis grata augebantur auspicia. Nam & tunc terra ubertatem, aer temperiem recepit, mare tranquillitatem, & ecclesia libertatem.

When

When that victorious Prince slept with his Fathers, his Grand-child *Richard*, by his eldest Son *Edward*, succeeded him [r] not only, (as my Author, who lived then, informs us) by hereditary Right, but also by the common Vote of every one.

[r] Id. ibid. col. 2630. Anno Gratiæ 1377. xvii. Kalendarum Augusti apud Westmonasterium coronatio Richardi II. regis filii Edwardi principis memorati. Id. ibid. Hic avo suo regi Edwardo jure Hæreditario ac etiam voto communi singulorum in regnum successit Anglorum —— *With this King*, Henry Knyghton *ends his History.*

His Government did not at all answer the Hopes conceived of him and it: For he was so far from doing this, that through his male-Administration [s] thereof, concerning which, Articles were drawn up against him in Parliament, That he had violated his Royal Oath, he was judged worthy of being deposed. And when the Sentence of Deposition (according to *Thomas* of *Walsingham*) was read, and that (as he adds) the Kingdom thereby became vacant, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* (Son of *John*, Son to *Edward* III. and younger Brother to *Edward*, King *Richard* II's. Father) arising from his Seat, and standing so erect as he might be seen by all the People, he formally challenged the Kingdom of *England*, with the Crown and all its Appendices, as being descended from the Blood Royal of King *Henry*, and out of Justice, to which God (as he said) had of his Grace sent him, since by the Assistance of his Kinsfolk and Friends he had recovered the Kingdom, when it was in absolute Danger to be lost, through the Defect of the Government and the violation of the Laws. To this Challenge all the States of the Kingdom (as saith the same *Walsingham*) set their

[s] Ypodigma Neustriæ per Thomam de Walsingham, Londini 1574. p. 156. In crastino lectis regis (scil. Rich. II.) renunciatione & cessione coram statibus regni in magnâ aulâ Westmonast. consequenter processum est ad articulos pro quibus meritò videbatur deponendus. Qui etiam lectis omnes violationes juramenti regalis finaliter concludebant: Unde sententiâ depositionis regis lectâ constabat regnum Angliæ cum pertinentiis suis vacare. Quapropter Dux Lancastriæ de loco suo surgens, & stans erectus, ut posset à populo toto videri, muniens se signo crucis in fronte & in pectore, & invocato Christi nomine, dictum regnum Angliæ sic vacans, ut permittitur, cum coronâ, ac omnibus pertinentiis vendicavit, in linguâ materna sub hâc formâ verborum: In Dei nomine amen. Ego Henricus de Lancastria vendico regnum istud cum coronâ, & omnibus membris illis pertinentibus, tanquam per regum sanguinem venientem de rege Henrico, & per justitiam quam Deus de suâ gratiâ mihi misit cum adjutorio consanguineorum meorum & amicorum ad recuperanda illud, quod regnum fuit in puncto perditionis propter defectum gubernationis & legum violationem. Huic vendicationi omnes status regni manus dederunt, & Archiepiscopi eum in regali solio posuêrunt, universo populo applaudente. &c.

Hands,

Hands, and the Archbishops placed *Henry* (formerly Duke of *Lancaster*) in the Regal Throne with the universal Applause of the People; although it cannot well be denied, That by lineal Descent, the said *Henry* had no Right to the Crown of this Nation.

'Tis true, That his Cousin, King *Richard* II. when he was resolv'd to resign, [t] first desired to speak with the said *Henry*: and [v] when he had resigned his Regal Authority, he added, That, if it had been in his Power, the said Duke of *Lancaster* should have succeeded him in the Kingdom. But, since (as he said) he believed it was not then in his (i. e. *Richard*'s) Power to do so, he requested the Archbishop of *York* and the Bishop of *Hereford*, whom for that Time he had constituted his Proctors to declare his Surrender and Renouncing the Royalty to all the States of the Kingdom; that they would also declare to the People his Intention and Will in that particular Case: And in token of such his Will and Intention, he then took off his own Finger his golden Ring and Signet, and publickly there put it on the Finger of the said (*Henry*) Duke of *Lancaster*, desiring, That what he had there affirmed, might thereby be made known to all the States of the Kingdom. I say, this Desire and designed Resignation of the Kingdom by *Richard* to *Henry*, might in part strengthen that hereditary Title which otherwise was deficient in *Henry* IV.

[t] Rotulus Parliamenti summoniti & tenti apud Westmonasterium in festo sanctæ Fidis Virginis, anno regni regis Henrici IV. post conquestum primo, in calce x. Scriptorum Histor. Angl. Londini 1652 col. 2743.— Desideravit tamen habere colloquium cum Henrico Duce Lancastriæ, & præfato Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, consanguineis suis, antequam promissum suum hujusmodi adimpleret.

[v] Ibid. col. 2745. Et statim idem rex renuntiationi, & cessioni prædictis verbo tenus adjunxit; quod si esset in potestate suâ, dictus Dux Lancastriæ succederet sibi in regno; sed quia hoc in potestate non deprehendebat suâ, ut dixit, dictus Eboracensem archiepiscopum, & episcopum Herefordensem, quos pro tunc constituit suos procuratores ad declarandum, & intimandum cessionem, & renuntiationem hujusmodi omnibus statibus regni, rogavit ut intentionem & voluntatem suam in eâ parte populo nuntiarent, & in signum suæ voluntatis, & intentionis hujusmodi, annulum auri de signeto suo patenter de digito suo tunc ibidem extraxit, & digito dicti Ducis Lancastriæ apposuit, desiderans hoc ipsum, ut asseruit, omnibus regni statibus innotescì.

And,

And, if, after the producing the Opinion of our own Historians, about the Resignation of our K. *Richard* II. I might consult that of *John Froissart*, a Frenchman, who lived about that Time, [x] he would tell us, That the said King *Richard*, induced by Fear of his Life, and the Perswasion of those who were in the miserable State (of Prison in the Tower of *London*) with himself, did resign his Royalty publickly to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*: [y] Who afterwards made a publick Challenge of the Crown himself, before the Prelates and Clergy, and several of the Nobility, upon three Accounts: (I.) Of Conquest. (II.) Because he was Heir: And (III.) Because *Richard* had resigned it to him, before certain of the Nobility and Prelacy; and in the same place, the said Duke of *Lancaster* requested all the People there present to shew their Minds about it; and accordingly they said, That they would have none for their King but him.

[x] John Froissart's *Chronicle, Book* 3. *Chap.* 244.

[y] Id. ibid. 245.

But, to proceed, although the Right, which King *Henry* IV. had to the *English* Crown, flowed more from a popular Election than hereditary Descent, the Defect of which was partly the cause why his Reign was so incumbered with Civil Wars, and which, in a manner, entailed the same upon his Posterity and the House of *York*, till their two Roses grew into one about sixty Years after; yet did he die in Peace, [z] and his eldest Son, *Henry*, was crowned King, without the least syllable of an Election of him, by that *Walsingham*, who flourished in this Nation about thirty Years after that King's accession to this Throne.

[z] Thomæ de Walsingham Historia brevis, Londini 1574. p. 426. Eodem anno (scil. 1413.) coronatus Londoniis Henricus primogenitus regis Henrici nuper defuncti quinto Idus Aprilis dominicâ in passione Domini. *And here we also part with the Historian* Thomas *of* Walsingham.

'Tis true, as the House of *York* were his Rivals in Pretensions to the British Scepter; so did *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge* (who had married *Ann* Daughter of *Roger* Earl of

of *March*, who was the Heir of *Lionel* Duke of [a] *Clarence* attempt it, during the Reign of that magnanimous Prince: But his Conqueſts in *France*, and the great Affection which the *Engliſh* bare him, ſecured him the Poſſeſſion of this Kingdom, till Death put a period at once to his Victories and his Covernment: In neither of which his only Son, *Henry*, was really his Heir; although he obtained his Crowns of *England* [b] and *France*, being adorned with the former at eight Years of Age and of the latter at ten, becauſe he was a Man more fit for a Cell than a Throne.

[a] Polydori Vergilii Angliæ Hiſtor. Baſileæ 1533. lib. 22. p. 436. Dum hic militibus in naves imponendis operam dat, à fideli indice cognoſcit Richardum Comitem Cantabrigiæ — factâ conjuratione, mortem ſibi machinari-- — -Id. ibid. p 437. — Porrò habebat in matrimonio Ricardus Comes Annam filiam Rogerii Comitis Marchiæ, quæ reliqua una erat è ſanguine Lionelli ducis Clarentiæ, &c.

[b] Hiſtoriæ Croylandenſis continuatio Oxoniæ 1684. p. 516. Rex verò Angliæ Henricus, anno ætatis ſuæ ſimul & regni octavo, in feſto ſancti Leonardi, apud Weſtmonaſterium ab Henrico Chichley, Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo, ſolenniter extitit coronatus. Quem itidem regem jam exacto biennio, Henricus Beauford — apud Pariſios magnificis ſuis ſumptibus in regem Franciæ denuo coronari.

Therefore after the Death of his two excellent Uncles, *John* Duke of *Bedford* and *Humphry* Duke of *Gloceſter*, the one Protector of *France*, and the other of *England*; *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Heir of the Family which bore that Title, challenges the Crown, and at laſt [c] (as *Polydore Virgil*, whom [d] our excellent Hiſtorian *Deg. Whear* recommends as a Succeſſor to *Walſingham*) tells us, prevailed ſo far, that, in a Parliament, it was enacted, That after K. *Henry* VI's. Death, the Houſe of *York* ſhould inherit the Kingdom, and in the interim the ſaid Duke *Richard* ſhould be Governour of the Kingdom.

[c] Polyd. Vergil. Hiſt. Anglic. lib. 23. p. 503. — Convocatoq; Principum concilio. — ingreſſuſque curiam (i. e. Rich. *Duke of* York) primò locum occupavit, qui regi in ſenatu datus eſt, deinde coram omnibus ſe regem eſſe dixit, docens id jure ſe feciſſe. Sed ad extremum habita eſt reverentia majeſtatis, nam ſenatus conſulto decretum eſt, ut poſt mortem Henrici, hæreditas regni familiæ Eboracenſi veniret, ac interim Ricardus Dux Eboracenſis regni rector eſſet.

[d] Deg. Wheare Relectiones hyemales de ratione & methodo legendi utraſque Hiſtorias, &c. Oxoniæ 1662. ſect. 30. p. 142, 143. Poſt Walſinghami Chronica — Magnus erit hiatus, & lacuna annorum ferè ſeptuaginta, niſi à Polydoro Virgilio ſupplementa accerſere placeat. Quod quidem in tantâ auctorum noſtrorum penuriâ, non dedignabitur hiſtoriæ ſtudioſus.

But

But Q. *Margaret*, K. *Henry*'s Wife, [e] endeavouring to deliver her Husband (at that Time a Prisoner) falls upon Duke *Richard* with an Army; who being there slain, his eldest Son *Edward* [f] is immediately declared King by his Party, and *Henry* deprived of the Regal Power, because (adds *Polydore Virgil*) he had neither stood to the Agreement betwixt him and *Richard* Duke of *York*, nor had he obeyed (or observed) the Law which had been enacted before in Parliament—Pursuant to that Dignity to which he aspired, and whereof he was the lawful Heir, *Edward* falling upon and defeating K. *Henry*'s Army at *York*, puffed up [g] with that great Victory and with the general Defection of the Princes and People to his Party, having called a Parliament at *Westminster*, he is there created King, and all K. *Henry*'s Acts are disannull'd and abolished—And thus in him the House of *York*, who were the right Heirs by Blood, attained the Regal Diadem.

[e] Polyd. Verg. Angl. Hist. l. 23. p. 503.—Ac regina quæ virum armis repetere deliberârat, & ob id jam magnum exercitum fecerat, ubi cognovit hostes appropinquare, confestim obviam facta, eos prælio aggreditur—Cecidit in pugnâ Ricardus Dux Eboracensis illius factionis caput.—

[f] Id. ibid.—Atque ita capto consilio Edovardus à suis rex declaratur, abrogatâ prorsus omni regiâ potestate Henrico quod non stetisset pacto, neque paruisset senatusconsulti decreto.

[g] Id. ibid. l. 24. p. 505. Edovardus post Henricum profligatum, partim captâ victoriâ, partim communi principum populorumque ad se defectione elatus, triumphantis imperatoris ritu Londinum revertitur, convocatoque more majorum, concilio, statim post ad Westmonasterium ad iii. Kalend. Julii, rex creatur, dein ex ejus sententia omnia Henrici regis constituta repudiantur, rescinduntur, tolluntur.

But this Advancement of *Edward* was not so permanent, [h] but that he was again overcome by *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* (once his great Friend) and forced to quit the Realm, and his Rival *Henry* VI. freed out of Prison, and restored to his Royal Dignity, and *Edward* IV. declared an Enemy of his Country, in a Parliament convened at *Westminster*, and all his Decrees, Constitutions and Acts were rescinded. So various was those Princes Fortune, and so different were the Actions of those Parliaments: Yet this *Edward*, having again recovered his Kingdom, [i] he called a

[h] Id. ibid. p. 514, 515.—Henricus tot ties victus regnare iterum incipit—Post hæc Henricus circiter vi. Kalendas Decembrias, concilium ad Westmonasterium habet, in quo primùm Edovardus patriæ hostis declaratur, quòd regnum occupasset—deinde omnia decreta, constituta, acta ipsius Edovardi rescinduntur, &c.

[i] Id. ibid. p. 521. Edovardus quamvis non incruentam victoriam adeptus, ejus tamen lætitia majorem in modum sublatus cum Henrico captivo more imperatoris triumphantis, Londinum revertitur.

Parliament at [k] *Westminster*, where all those Constitutions and Laws, which had been repealed by *Henry* VI. were revived, and [l] that last-mentioned Prince and his [m] only Son *Edward* being slain, he triumphed over all his Enemies.

[k] Id. ibid. p. 528. — Convocavit concilium ad Westmonasterium, in quo primum revocantur in pristinum usum omnia ab eo constituta & leges, quæ paulo ante ab Henrico VI. rescissæ fuerant, &c.

[l] Id. ibid. p. 525 —— Henricus VI. paulò ante regno spoliatus, in turri morte est affectus. Hunc, ut fama constans est, Ricardus Gloucestriæ dux gladio percussit.

[m] Id. ibid. p. 523 —— Quem (i. e. Edvardum principem fil. H. 6. —— Georgius Clarentiæ, Ricardus Gloucestriæ Duces, & Gualterus Hastyngius, inde talionis pœnam subituri, crudeliter trucidârunt.

But his eldest Son *Edward* had not so prosperous a Fortune: for, though he is usually styled by the Name of King *Edward* V. yet was he never crowned. 'Tis true, his only surviving Uncle, *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, that Monster of Mankind for Deformity of Body and Cruelty of Mind, did (as [n] we are told by the Continuator of *Ingulphus*'s History of *Croyland*, and who lived at [o] that Time) bring him up to *London* in a Regal manner, and placed him in the Bishop of *London*'s Palace, and (together with the Duke of *Buckingham* his intimate Friend) made all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to swear Fealty to *Edward* as King.

[n] Historiæ Croylandensis continuatio p. 566. — Paucis exinde elapsis diebus, Duces antedicti, sc. Richard *Duke of* Gloucester *and the Duke of* Buckingham) regem illum novellum (i. e. Edward 5.) usque Londonias more regali recipiendum deduxêrunt; locantesque eum in palatio episcopi apud sanctum Paulum, coegêrunt omnes Dominos spirituales & temporales, Majoremque ac Aldermannos civitatis Londoniarum, eidem regi fidelitatis juramentum præstare.

[o] Ibid. p. 578. Acta sunt hæc expleta apud Croylandiam, anno Dom. MCCCCLXXXVI.

Then the said [p] *Richard* getting himself styled Protector of the Kingdom, by the Consent of all the Lords (during his Nephew *Edward*'s minority) whereby he had absolute Power to command or forbid any thing to be done,

[p] Ibid. p. 566. Acceperuntque dictus Richardus Dux Gloucestl. illum solennem magistratum, qui Duci Humfrido Gloucestriæ, stante minore ætate regis Henrici, ut regni protector appellaretur, olim contingebat, eâ igitur auctoritate usus est, de consensu & beneplacito omnium dominorum, præcipiens & prohibens in omnibus tanquam alter rex, prout casus exigebat.

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as much as if he had been really King; [q] and a certain Day being appointed for the Coronation of the young King, which while all with Impatience expected, for the Peace and Prosperity of the Kingdom, he having roughly treated the Queen (Wife of *Edward* IV.) and first imprisoned the young King's Relations and Servants, there [r] was presented, by way of a Petition to him in a Roll of Parchment, a Discourse (contrived doubtless by that Tyrant himself) wherein was shewn; That the Children of K. *Edward* IV. were Bastards) supposing that King to have been contracted with a certain Woman, called *Eleanor Boteler*, before he married Q. *Elizabeth*: Moreover, That the Blood of his other Brother, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was attainted, so that none of the lineal Blood of *Richard* Duke of *York* could be found uncorrupted but in himself: Wherefore, there was at the Conclusion of that Roll, an Address to him from the Lords and Commons of the Kingdom, That he would take the Government upon himself.

[q] Ibid. (scil. hist. Croyland. continuat.) p. 566.— statutoque festo nativitatis, & sancti Johannis Baptistæ pro die certo in quo coronatio prædicti regis infallibiliter perficeretur, sperabant & expectabant universi pacem & prosperitatem regni. Maximum autem quod dubietatis scrupulum ingerebat, erat detentio consanguineorum & servientium regis in carcere; & quod dictus

[r] Ibid. p. 567. Edwardi erant

protector non satis humaniter respiciebat honori & securitati reginæ. Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii regis bastardi, supponendo illum præcontraxisse cum quâdam Dominâ Alionorâ Boteler antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset uxorem; atque insuper quod sanguis alterius fratris sui, Georgii Ducis Clarentiæ, fuisset attinctus; ita quod hodiè nullus certus & incorruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Richardi Ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in persona dicti Richardi Ducis Gloucestriæ. Quocirca supplicaba ur ei in fine ejusdem rotuli, ex parte Dominorum & Communitatis regni, ut jus suum in se assumeret.

This fine Artifice, assisted on one side with his feigned Excuses, which induced the less thinking sort of People to believe he desired not the Royalty, and propped up on the other with Fear of his Power, facilitated his accession; so that at last [s] he and his Wife *Anne* were solemnly crowned King and Queen at S. *Peter*'s Church in *Westminster*.

[s] Ibid. p. 567. His itaq; gestis, dictus Richardus

Gloucestriæ, accito Thoma Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo Cardinali —— in Ecclesiâ conventuali sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium, regalis unctionis coronationisque munus accepit, simulque eisdem die & loco coronam accepit conjux sua Anna.

And by theſe Steps did that inhuman Prince, who had no Title to the Crown, either ſtrictly by Deſcent or by Merit, aſcend the Engliſh Throne.

But [t] the horrid Murder of his two Nephews, Sons of his Brother *Edward*, and Heirs of the Crown, perpetrated by his Order, and the many other Tragedies acted by the ſame, procured him ſo much the univerſal Odium, that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond* Son of *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, who was the ſole Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, entering the Nation in a martial manner, and engaging in Fight at *Boſworth* with the Tyrant *Richard*, a period was there put to his Uſurpation and Life at once, and to the Pretenſions of the jarring Families of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

[t] Polydor. Vergil. hiſt. Anglic. l. 25. p. 539, 540. Cujus circa per literas Roberto Brachynburio præfecto turris Londinenſis mandat, ut aliquo honeſto modo nepotes ipſos quam primum ſecandos curet. ——

Id. ibid. p. 540 —— Ita Edovardus princeps cum Ricardo fratre interiit ——

For, though this Earl *Henry* was even in the aboveſaid *Boſworth* Field crowned King by *Thomas Stanly*, [v] who having, among the Spoils of that Victory, found that Diadem, which the late King *Richard* III. wore, ſet it upon the Head of the victorious *Henry*; and albeit in the Crouds of People, which [x] all-a-long accoſted him, he was ſaluted King: Yet could not he look upon theſe Actions (how pleaſant ſoever in themſelves) as a firm Baſis upon which to fix his Royalty and future Happineſs: therefore having within [y] few Months after his glorious, and (to the whole Nation) fortunate Victory, called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, he is there created King, by the Command, as *Polydore Virgil* terms it (or rather, by the Election) of the Nobility and the People [z] after there

[v] Id. ibid. p. 557, 558. Henricus adeptam ſtatim victoriam, Deo optimo maximo multis precibus acceptam retulit —— milite interea eum magno clamore regem ſalutante, plauſuſque libentiſſimo animo dante. Quo viſo Thomas Stanleius coronam Richardi inter ſpolia repertam capiti protinus impoſuit, perinde ac ſi jam populi juſſu rex fuiſſet more majorum renunciatus.

[x] Id. lib. 26. p. 559. Interea Henricus iter Londinum verſus facere cœpit, ingenti paſſim agreſtium lætitia & congratulatione eum regem appellantium, &c.

[y] Id. ibid. Poſtea coacto ad Weſtmonaſterium concilio, pridie calend. Novemb. Henricus principum atque populi juſſu, rex creatur.

[z] Id. ibid. —— Concilium more majorum indicitur, ac dies dictus, quo Henricus Eliſabeth puellam in matrimonium duceret.

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had, in a Privy Council (convened upon his coming to *London*) been a Day set down, when the said *Henry* was to marry *Elizabeth*, the Heir of the House of *York*, and (indeed) the true Heir of the *English* Crown: Which was [a] afterwards accordingly performed to the general Satisfaction of the Nation, who thereby saw themselves freed from their Fears of having the Wars continued, and themselves became a Prey to those Rivals for the British Throne.

[a] Id. ibid. p. 562 — Restabat ad corroborandum præsentem rerum statum, ut Elizabeth puellam Edovardi filiam perinde ac pollicitus erat, sibi matrimonio jungeret, quod & fecit.

Since by these happy Nuptials, *Henry*, Heir to the House of *Lancaster*, as Son to *Margaret* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Son to *John* Earl of *Somerset*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, fourth Son of *Edward* III. was joyned to *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir to *Edward* IV. Son to *Richard* Duke of *York*, Son to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*, fifth Son of *Edward* III. and *Elizabeth*'s Great Grand Father *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, married *Anne* Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, and of *Philip* Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son of *Edward* III.

But before the solemnization of that fortunate Union, *Henry*, now made King by the Name of *Henry* VII. [b] in this his first Parliament fixed his Title to the Crown upon another Pillar than that ensuing Marriage: For, (as we are told, [c] by one, who wrote a Continuation of *Ingulphus*'s History, and who lived at the same Time himself) in that Parliament, the Kingdom was confirmed to King *Henry*, as if it had been due to him; not by one but many Titles; so that (as he saith) he may as justly be believed

[b] Id. ibid. p. 559. — Henricus principum atque populi jussu, rex creatur, dictusque est Henricus ejus nominis septimus.

[c] Historia Croylandensis Continuatio —— p. 581. In hoc parliamento confirmatum est regnum Domino regi, tanquam sibi debitum, non ex uno sed ex multis titulis, ut non tam sanguinis quàm victoriæ bellicæ conquæstusque jure rectissimè populo Anglicano præsidere credatur; Fuerant qui consultius æstimabant, verba ejusmodi silentio potiùs quàm edicto committi; eo potissimè, quod in isto eodem Parliamento tractatum est, atque per regem assensum, ‖ super matrimonio Elizabeth primogenitæ regis Edwardi, in cujus persona visum omnibus erat posse suppleri, quicquid aliunde ipsi regi deesse de titulo videbatur.

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ed to have obtained the Government of the People of *England* upon the Right of Victory and Conqueſt, as of Blood. Wherefore (adds my Author) there were ſome Men, who thought, that it had been better if ſuch Words had been omitted than expreſſed in the Act; and the rather, becauſe in the ſame Parliament, his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of King *Edward* (as hath been already mentioned) had been diſcourſed of, and aſſented to by the King; in the perſon of which Princeſs there ſeemed enough, in the Opinion of every Body, to ſupply whatſoever Defect there appear'd in the Title of the King---Who certainly could not, unleſs upon the ſcore of Conqueſt, pretend with any ſhew of Reaſon or Juſtice to the Poſſeſſion of this Crown by Deſcent or Blood, ſince his [d] Mother, from whom he derived his Title, was then alive, and ought conſequently to have inherited it antecedent to him; ſo that he had no medium left to make uſe of, and no better Step whereby to mount this Throne, before his Marriage (as he really did) with the Inheretrix of the *Yorkiſh* Family, than either to do it by the Sword or by Election. The latter of which he ſeemed wholly to lean his Title upon. For though, [e] as our learned Lord Chancellor Sir *Francis Bacon* tells us, He had three Titles: The Firſt, The Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom by precedent Pact with the Party, who brought him in, he was to marry. The Second, the ancient and long diſputed Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, to which he was Inheritor (but there I beg the Chancellor's Pardon, for his Mother was the true Heir and not he) in his own Perſon. The Third, The Title of the Sword or Conqueſt, for that he came in by Victory of Battle, and that the King in Poſſeſſion was ſlain in the Field. Yet [f] (as the ſame excellent Author informs us) in the Act of Parliament after his Coronation, he did not preſs to have the Act penned by way of Declaration or Recognition of it: as on the other ſide, he avoided to have it by new Law or Ordinance; but choſe rather a kind of middle Way,

[d] *That ſhe* (i. e. *the Counteſs of* Richmond) *was living after K.* Henry VII's. *coming to the Crown, is evident enough from her founding S.* John's Colledge *in* Cambridge, *which by* Henry Iſaacſon *is placed in* Ann. Dom. 1506. *ſeveral Years after her Son's coming to the Crown. See* Iſaacſon's *Chronology, fol.* 473. *and* Polyd. Vergil. hiſt. Anglic. l. 26.

[e] *The Hiſtory of* Henry *VII. by* Francis *Lord* Verulam *Viſcount S.* Alban, London. 1676. p. 2.

[f] id. ib. p. 7, & 8.

Way, by way of Establishment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words, that the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain and abide in the King, *&c.*

Which Words might equally be applied, That the Crown should continue to him: But whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and possession, (which no Man denyed) was left to fair Interpretation either way.

Thus have I brought down the History of the Succession of the *English* Crown, (at least) from the beginning of the *Saxon* Monarchy till the two contesting Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were by a Marriage united into one, whereby those Quarrels about this Scepter, so long and so furiously managed, were laid asleep, and those Convulsions of State, in which the Health, Vigor and Strength of the Nation did so visibly decline, were thereby in a manner forgotten. I need not carry the Thread of this History any lower—For, besides, that these Changes which happened after that celebrated Union so lately mentioned, are obvious enough to any Person who hath made the least Enquiry into the Manner and Motives which induced the major Part of this Kingdom to throw off the heavy Yoke of the Pope's Supremacy: so the History thereof is so interwoven with that of our happy Reformation, that I cannot herein do the Reader a greater Kindness than to refer him to the well-penned History of the said Reformation, composed by the learned Dr. *Burnet*, now Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, which hath for several Years been the Subject for Protestant Elegies and Romish Pasquils: And, as it hath sufficiently merited the former; so hath its Author with clearness of Truth, Strength and Judgment, an accurate Style of undeniable Reasons, as often baffled those Romish Champions, as they have shewn their Zeal, or have had the Courage to attaque him and it.

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It remains, That I subjoyn this for an undeniable Truth, That through the whole Series of this History, whatsoever Deviations there might be, in the Succession, from the direct Line, whether by absolute Force or insinuating Election, the whole Royal Family of *Cerdic*, who founded the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, was never wholly laid aside, but in the unsettled Times of the *Danish* and *Norman* Usurpations; and when *Harold* II. appeared upon the *English* Throne—Which to me seems an undeniable Proof (whatsoever others may pretend to the contrary) That the *English* Crown hath been hereditary for near nine hundred Years, since in all Elective Monarchies, the whole Line as well as particular Persons have usually been laid aside; and whenever that was not, the advancement of the Regal Dignity was owned to be an effect of pure Merit and Choice, and not that of an inherent Right in their Family.

Soli Deo Gloria.